Roman Butrint

An Assessment

Edited by
Inge Lyse Hansen
and Richard Hodges

ROMAN BUTRINT

AN ASSESSMENT

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with contributions by
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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements and abbreviations vii

1 Introduction
Richard Hodges and Inge Lyse Hansen 1

THE ARTISTIC AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

2 The sanctuary of Asclepius
Milena Melfi 17

3 La structure politique de la colonie romaine de Buthrotum
Elizabeth Deniaux 33

Appendix: A dedication to Minerva Augusta from Butrint
John R. Patterson 40

4 The Trojan connection: Butrint and Rome
Inge Lyse Hansen 44

5 The monumental togate statue from Butrint
Iris Pojani 62

6 Coins from the excavations at Butrint, Diaporit and the Vrina Plain
Sam Moorhead, Shpresa Gjongecaj and Richard Abdy 78

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS ON THE VRINA PLAIN

7 Geoarchaeological investigation at Roman Butrint
David J. Bescoby 95

8 The archaeology of the Vrina Plain: an assessment
Andrew Crowson and Oliver J. Gilkes 119
With contributions by *Edward Bispham, Dhimitër Çondi and Inge Lyse Hansen*

9 Two Roman monuments: proposals for function and context
Ryan Ricciardi 165

COMPARATIVE STUDIES

10 Butrinto e Fenice a confronto
Sandro De Maria 175

11 Butrint and Nicopolis: urban planning and the 'Romanization' of Greece and Epirus
William Bowden 189

Index 211

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BF The Butrint Foundation
ICAA The International Centre for Albanian Archaeology
MAIP Missione Archeologica Italiana a Phoinike
MCR Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome, Italy

1 Introduction

Richard Hodges and Inge Lyse Hansen

Butrint, ancient *Buthrotum*, has taken many forms in different ages, shaped by the near-constant interaction between the place, its lagoonal landscape and the Mediterranean (cf. Figs 1.1 and 1.2). The exposed hilltop overlooking a deep-water lagoon abundant in fish has been an enduring feature in its many historical guises, and the site is an archetypal example of a port whose history was shaped by its context in the Mediterranean Sea.[1] Indeed today, other than tourism, its main income as a place is still from fish, caught up in a web of rusting, communist traps.[2] It is no surprise, then, to discover the lithic instruments of Neanderthal manufacture on the beaches surrounding the lagoon or that the hilltop is considered part of a network of late Bronze Age settlements in the region.[3] It is no less unsurprising that the acropolis has yielded finds of mid-8th-century BC and late 7th-century Corinthian pottery, providing evidence of the city's part in Mediterranean-wide trade networks.[4] Though Butrint does not appear on any of the records of early Greek colonisation to identify it as a Corcyrean settlement, strong links must have existed between it and the metropolitan Corinthian colony of Corfu.

Blessed with springs that possessed healing qualities, a small *polis* was created – extended to incorporate a healing sanctuary dedicated to Asclepius – and probably in the 3rd century BC the site became the administrative centre of the *koinon* of the Praesebes tribe.[5] Julius Caesar harbouring at Butrint in urgent need of supplies to sustain his struggle against Pompey must have viewed the sanctuary, ringed by largely dried-out marshland, as the perfect site to settle veterans as a colony.[6] It was an obvious cornerstone in controlling the passage from the Adriatic to the Aegean. Threatened by the prospect of new Roman colonists the city appealed to Titus Pomponius Atticus, who might have felt that his nearby estate would have been affected by new centuriation schemes. The early settlers seem to have been limited in number and possibly mainly of civilian status.[7] However, the political changes to the city's magistrature were immediate, and within a relatively short time-span fundamental changes to the physical make-up of the city were set in motion. Its new Roman status also located Butrint directly before the highest authorities in Rome, and within fifteen years or so, under Augustus's guidance following his victory at Actium, the city was refounded as a colony and awarded a pivotal role in Virgil's court-sponsored foundation epic, *The Aeneid*. Now linked to the Victory City of Nicopolis rather than in the shadow of Corfu, Butrint prospered. The urban fabric evolved, sometimes faltered, but was essentially sustained until the later 6th century AD (cf. Fig 1.3).

Butrint, with its long history, port facilities and connection to a lagoonal micro-region and (intermittently) the Mediterranean basin, conforms well to the criteria of commonality recently proposed by Nicholas Purcell.[8] This approach, consciously re-framing Fernand Braudel's concept of history over *la longue durée*, informed, as it happened, the Butrint Foundation's project launched in 1994.[9] This was designed as a multi-stage project involving multi-disciplinary analyses of the archives, archaeology and environment at Butrint, culminating in major open-area excavations in 2000–4.

This present volume is an assessment of the Roman archaeology, a compilation of studies and field reports that focusses upon the foundation and early history of the colony. On-going excavations in the area of the Forum as well as in the suburb on the Vrina Plain, as well as the preparation of full excavation reports on the excavations of the Triconch Palace and at Diaporit will very probably enlarge this picture of the ancient city in Roman times. Our intention now, though, is to illustrate the range of new information presently available for this period and to invite debate on its meaning for Butrint itself and its wider setting in the Adriatic Sea area.

Roman Butrint re-examined: 1994–2004

In his book *Butrinto. Il mito d'Enea. Gli scavi* the Italian

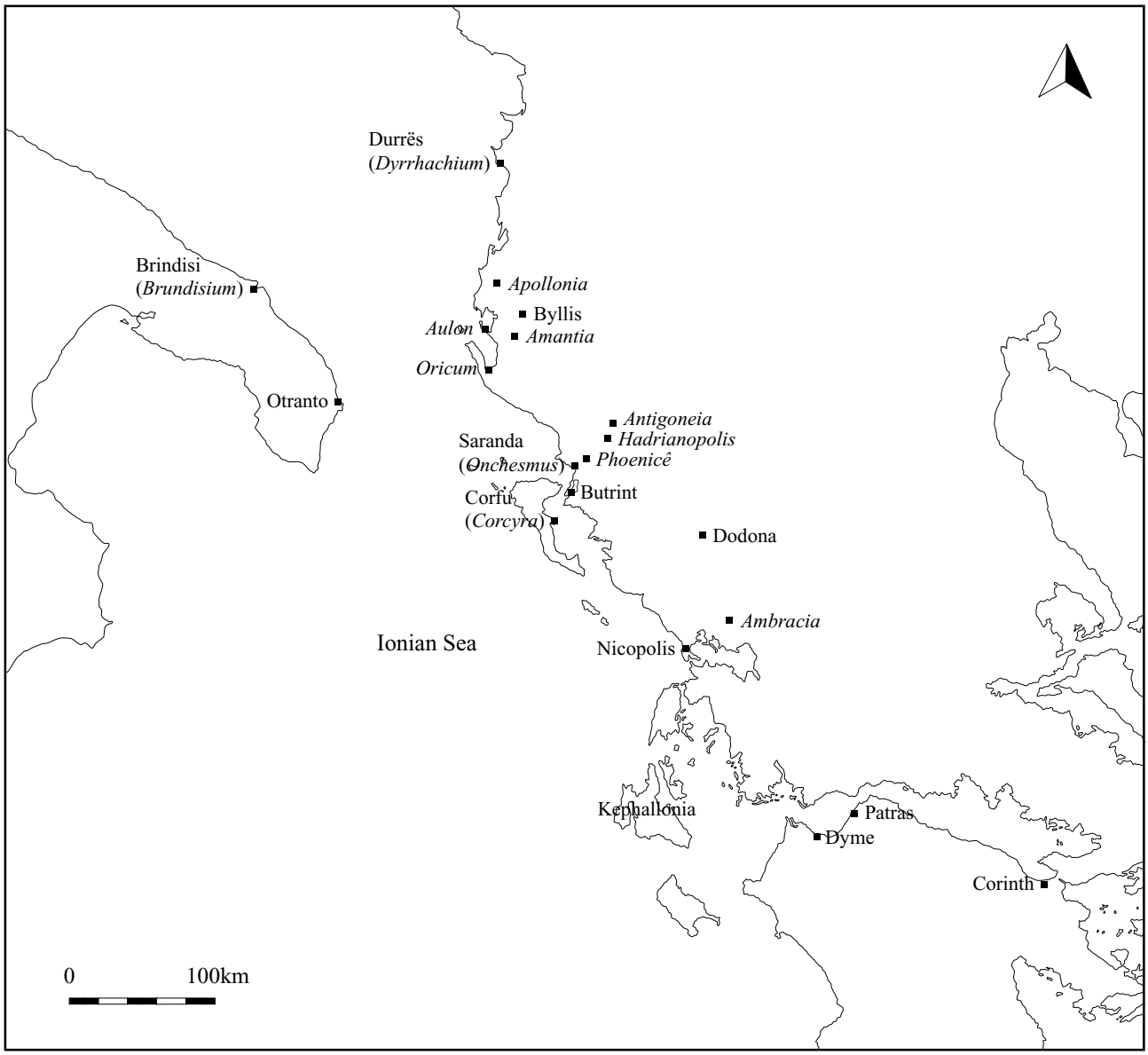

Fig. 1.1 The regional context of Butrint (BF)

archaeologist Luigi Maria Ugolini records how, sitting on the wall of ancient Mycenae in 1925, he mused upon on the links between Troy, Butrint and Rome.[10] In his own account he had discovered Butrint in 1924 during travels with the precise scope of finding the ancient city of Helenus and Andromache – deliberately emulating, we may assume, Heinrich Schliemann's achievement in unearthing Agamemnon's home.[11] Ugolini, a prehistorian by training, in his major excavations at Butrint from 1928–36 surprisingly gave little attention to either the early origins of the town and even less to understanding its Roman history. Instead, Ugolini's real achievement was to establish a diachronic understanding of Butrint's long history as a port situated on the Straits of Corfu. After his untimely death in 1936, his successors Pirro Marconi and Luigi Mustilli sustained Ugolini's vision of a long-running centre, and neither, for example, opted to examine one of its episodes in greater detail. After the Second World War, much in admiration of Ugolini's energetic efforts, Albanian archaeologists tended to re-work details of Butrint's long history, such as the phasing of its fortifications rather than reinterpret its history in any general form.[12] This was the context for the Butrint Foundation's project, which began in 1994.

The first phase of the project between 1994–99 concentrated upon evaluating the archaeological, historical and environmental sources.[13] As a result a field survey of the immediate environs in 1994–96 established

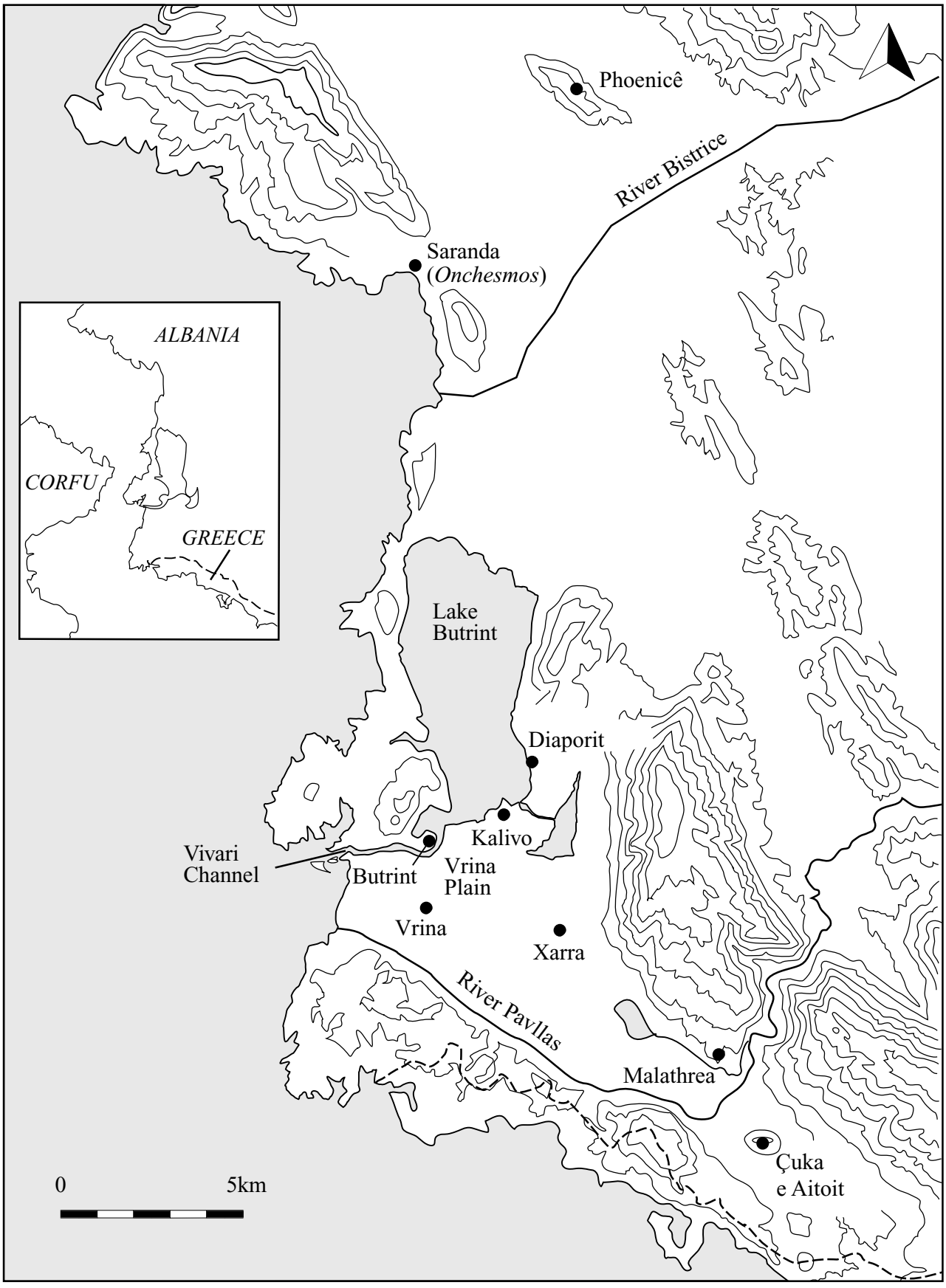

Fig. 1.2 The micro-region of Butrint (BF)

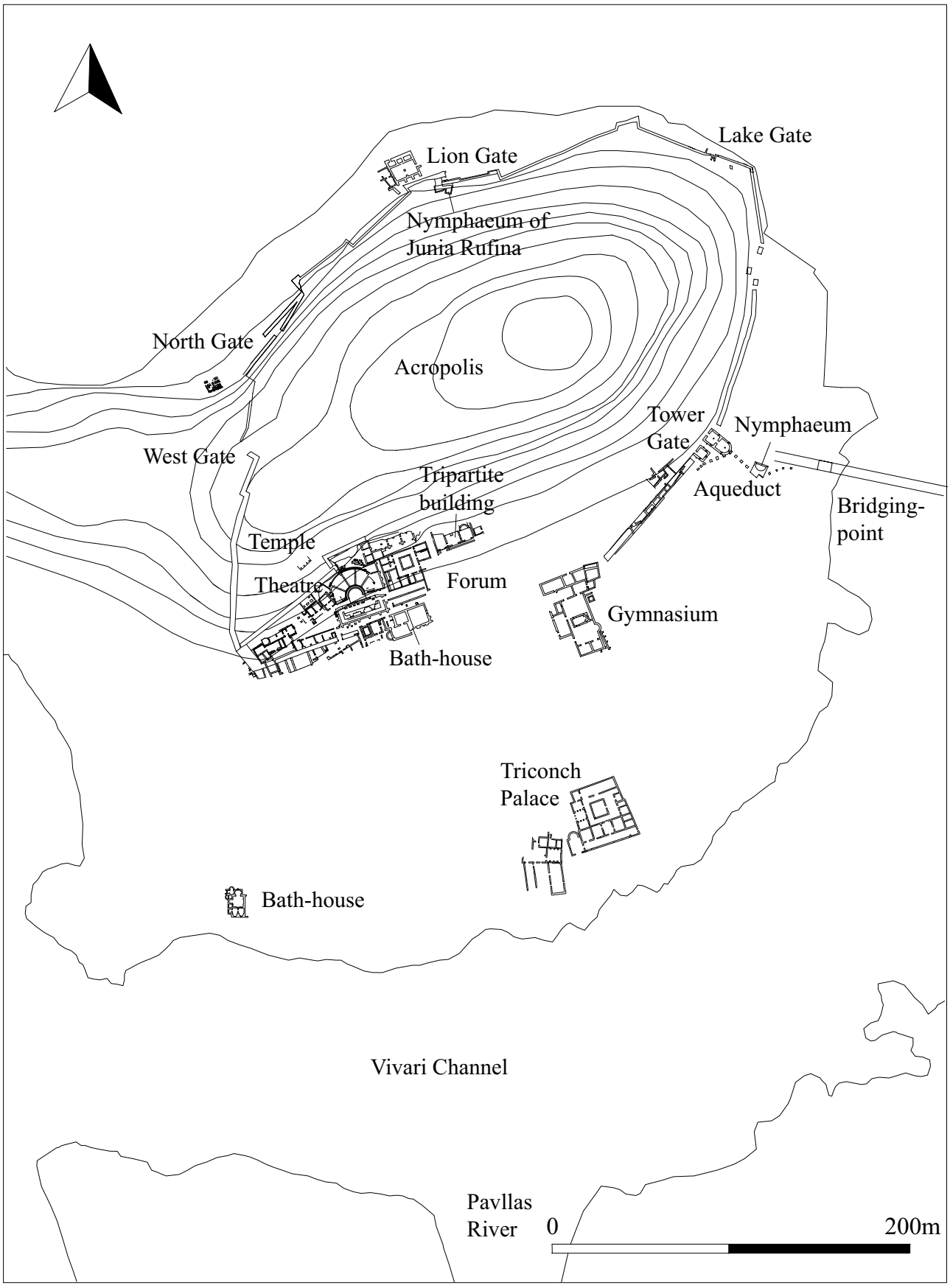

Fig. 1.3 Location of the principal monuments at Butrint (BF)

not only the remains of multi-period settlement around Butrint, but significantly, a large suburb or southern extension of the Roman settlement on the south side of the Vivari Channel.[14] This suburb on the Vrina Plain had hitherto been interpreted as a villa by the Albanian Institute of Archaeology in deference to Ugolini's interpretation of Butrint being confined to the promontory on the north side of the Vivari Channel.[15] In April 1995 a preliminary geophysical survey of a section of the Vrina Plain was made by members of the Albanian Institute of Geophysics. The survey was inconclusive. In 1998–99 a further survey, made by Neil Chroston and Mark Hounslow from the School of Environmental Sciences at the University of East Anglia, demonstrated that the area was occupied by a dense mosaic of buildings.[16] Parallel to this research, a new survey was made of the monuments in the main town, and assessment excavations at various points indicated the calibre of the archaeological deposits.[17]

Other research linked to this evaluation included an exhaustive study of the archives pertaining to the work by Luigi Maria Ugolini, including his unpublished manuscripts.[18] The material is mostly held by the archives in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome, while an important collection of Ugolini's photographs is housed in the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana. Following this, the Butrint Foundation reviewed the archives of the Institute of Archaeology to comprehend the scope of the post-war interventions at Butrint. In addition, the late Dhimosten Budina, head of the Institute's Saranda office from 1959–90, was interviewed. Other archival research pertinent to this early assessment phase included a study of the maps, drawings and prints made by topographers and earlier visitors to Butrint. Being situated close to Corfu, with its long history of Venetian occupation followed by a French, then British governorship, the sources proved to be rich and illuminating.

The final part of the assessment phase included a study of the lagoonal history. Started by Sarah O'Hara, it was completed by Adrian Lane.[19] These studies demonstrated a complex environmental history, much as N.G.L. Hammond anticipated in his seminal monograph on Epirus and similar to the more exacting survey made of the environment at Nicopolis, 200 km to the south.[20] In particular, the survey indicated a significant drop in the water table in relation to the land in the second half of the first millennium BC and a reversal of this beginning in the later Roman period.

The present volume arises from the next stage in the Butrint Foundation's research at Butrint. Since 2000 three investigations involving large-scale excavations have been made. First, a large part of an insula in the main town of Butrint, occupied by the later Roman Triconch Palace, was excavated between 2000–3.[21] Second, a major multi-period settlement identified in the 1995–95 field survey at Diaporit on the south-east shore of Lake Butrint was extensively excavated.[22] Third, the Vrina Plain suburb has been examined in detail. The Vrina Plain project has involved a sequence of different approaches. In 2000–1 the earlier geophysical survey was re-evaluated and test-trenches were excavated to evaluate the suitability of the remote sensing techniques. This was followed in 2002–3 when a length of about 200 m of a 1960s drainage ditch was cleaned and, in places, subjected to detailed excavation. This assessment excavation provided a cross-section through the settlement. In 2003–4, working from identified points in this assessment, several large areas were excavated revealing specific monuments within the occupation area.

An artistic impetus for re-evaluating the sculptural finds made by Ugolini in the late 1920s, and the development of Butrint as a Roman town, was provided by the find of the monumental togate statue in the late summer of 2002.[23] As discussed by Iris Pojani in this volume, the statue represents an extraordinary find detailing a composite history of the erection and re-working of imperial statuary, and it became the focal point for an international academic workshop in 2003. With the assistance of Neritan Çeka, Sandro De Maria, Shpresa Gjongecaj, Muzafer Korkuti, Charles Brian Rose, R. R. R. Smith, Eric Varner, Susan Walker and Konstantinos Zachos, as well as members of the Butrint Foundation and the International Centre for Albanian Archaeology, new ideas were forged that have sustained much of the subsequent understanding of Roman Butrint.

The combination of assessments, re-evaluation of Butrint's archives containing unpublished excavations, and the new excavations is the context for this volume. As such, it shows how this combination enables us to view the history of the town from different angles, taking a new critical stance not only upon its long settlement history but also upon its changing status in antiquity before and after the battle of Actium in 31 BC when the town and medicinal sanctuary was designated as a Roman colony.

Roman Butrint: a historical and archaeological outline

Strabo, the late 1st-century BC/early 1st-century AD geographer, describes the harbour of Butrint as *Pelodes Limen* or muddy harbour.[24] Whether he had actually visited the town is unknown, but his description of Butrint as situated on a peninsula at the mouth of the harbour is certainly correct. However, the marshy landscape around Butrint and the winding approach to it via the Vivari Channel would have been known to merchants and travellers for centuries. Epirus has high rainfall, and the river system from the mountains across the Vrina Plain would have brought down soil, leaving great muddy fans exuding from the mouth of the Vivari Channel into the Straits of Corfu. This particular landscape must have been a defining feature for any visitor in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. As the recent environmental studies have

shown, the drop in the water table was particularly marked from the 6th century BC, leaving a shallow skirt of land around the hilltop settlement of Butrint and elevating the land on the south side of the channel above the waterline.[25] Indeed, following these changes it is tempting to see the 3rd-century expansion of Butrint and the monumentalisation of the sanctuary as early examples of land reclamation schemes. So, when Julius Caesar briefly harboured at Butrint in early 48 BC, the combination of civic monumentality – in the series of imposing defensive walls ringing the city – and the open landscape must have been striking. The vistas articulate Butrint's regional connections and its position at a cross-road point between the valleys of the interior and the Mediterranean: from Butrint the view down the Pavllas Valley only terminates at Çuka e Aitoit; along the Vivari Channel it is possible to see the Straits of Corfu and the eastern flank of Corfu beyond; and once into Lake Butrint there is a direct visual link to Phoenicê and Mount Likurs behind Saranda, ancient *Onchesmos* (cf. Fig. 1.2).

Despite the monumental walls and the extensive excavation in the area around the sanctuary of Asclepius, the topographic history of Hellenistic Butrint is still relatively uncertain.[26] This issue, and a discussion of the available sources, are reviewed by Sandro De Maria, highlighting the historical and archaeological relationship with Phoenicê. The healing sanctuary of Asclepius is likely to have been a defining aspect of the city even as early as the Classical period, and the 'shrine' and stoa/portico on the slopes of the acropolis hill, as well as the temple above, pre-date the mid-3rd-century elaboration of the sanctuary.[27] The rather low acropolis hill, may not have permitted Butrint to be a settlement on a par with commanding cities such as Phoenicê or Çuka e Aitoit, but its easy communication-links with other cities in Chaonia made it ideal as a centre for the *koinon* of the Praesebes. Both leading magistrates of the *koinon* (*strategos* and *prostates*) were based at Butrint, and their names appear in inscriptions to date official enactments.[28] A similar status was granted to the priests of Asclepius, and civic structures, like the *prytaneum* and the agora, have been proposed as integral features of the structural landscape of the sanctuary area (cf. Fig. 2.8).[29] Both aspects are evidence of the significance of the sanctuary. Indeed, as David Bescoby's analysis of the early Roman centuriation scheme shows, the temple above the sanctuary is the only building in Butrint to follow the new land-division alignment, suggestively implying that it may have been a defining feature when this was laid out. Similarly, following the recent re-assessment of the archaeology of the theatre and surrounding structures, the re-interpretation of these elements presented in the contribution by Milena Melfi has significant consequences for the understanding of the Hellenistic sanctuary.[30] Firstly, identifying the so-called shrine next to the theatre as a treasury building, and associating the temple on the upper terrace with Asclepius, provides an overall cohesion to the sanctuary. The various monuments excavated in the 1920s and 1970s can be related to the proper function of the healing ritual, and the area now appears as a cohesive religious complex comparable to other Asclepieia in the Greek Hellenistic world. Secondly, it highlights the symbolic significance of both buildings, and in the process explains respective continuity and changes in use. The elevated location of the temple provides a culminating focal point for the cult, as well as suggesting a system of diverse routes through the sanctuary area symbolically dividing civic and religious uses of the complex. Instead, the position of the treasury on major public thoroughfares through the area emphasises the administrative importance of the sanctuary. Similarly, the later incorporation of the structure beneath the extended seating of the theatre is symbolic of its loss of political influence as a result of the changes under Roman administration.

Caesar's visit to Butrint was to have a fundamental impact on the city. Returning to Rome, a formal decree was issued designating Butrint as a Roman colony. As Elizabeth Deniaux argues here, an intended settlement of veteran soldiers or of those displaced by veteran settlements in Italy would explain the excuse given as arrears in the payment of taxes (the origin of which is unknown) by constituting a formal claim on the *ager publicus*. The city sought the assistance of the most famous and influential of the *synepirotae*, Titus Pomponius Atticus, who had owned property in the vicinity of Butrint since 68 BC.[31] Despite the efforts of Atticus and Cicero, by mid summer 44 BC a group of settlers arrived at Butrint led by the praefect L. Plancus.[32] However, rather than veterans, the group was probably more limited in number and made up of civilians – possibly also by freedmen, as suggested in John Patterson's analysis of the dedicatory inscription of a shrine to Minerva – making Butrint analogous to the Caesarian settlement at Corinth.[33] Certainly, the archaeological evidence shows no trace of a sudden, large-scale influx of people. Neither on the Vrina Plain nor within Butrint itself are substantial urban changes evident at this date, and it is possible that the new arrivals may have been incorporated into the existing city. If physical change to the urban landscape is difficult to trace, the political changes to the city appear immediate and fundamental. The new constitutional format was modelled on that in Rome, creating a local senate, or council of *decurions*; two annual magistrates, the *duoviri*; as well as offices such as the *quinquennal*, indicating that a citizen roll was being kept. Simultaneously, the official language changed to Latin. For the first time Butrint received a grant to mint coins and, as illustrated in the contribution by Sam Moorhead, Shpresa Gjongecaj and Richard Abdy, the coinage became an important medium of display for members of the new local elite holding high office. The identification of a new issue type (SF 0433, Fig. 6.9) by the earliest known *duoviri* at Butrint, P. Dastidius and L. Cornelius, highlights the

continued importance of the cult of Asclepius by depicting the god on the obverse. More than a symbol of the city, the representation also articulates the political transference of power formerly associated with the priests of the sanctuary and the magistrates of the Praesebian *koinon*. As Elizabeth Deniaux points out in her essay, quite apart from possible land expropriations, the social and psychological impact on the old elite of the colonial changes must have been profound.

Fundamental to the formalised involvement in Butrint was its particular location, at the strategically important Straits of Corfu, on the sea-route between Italy and Greece at the southern head of the Adriatic. In the short term, the struggles fought in this area during the late Republic had not only proved the importance of controlling coastal sites, but they had highlighted the need to create an alternative (or complementary) harbour to Corfu – the theatre of naval command of the Pompeian camp, and later a supporter of M. Antonius.[34] In the long term, the control of the Straits gave access to the East and the further expansion of the Roman world. Hence, the colonial status granted by Caesar was renewed by Augustus – probably soon after his victory at Actium in 31 BC, and certainly by his provincial settlement in 27 BC. The evidence for Butrint during the Julian-Claudian period is particularly composite and detailed, not the least since the town was able to call upon ties of *clientelae* as well as a myth directly linked to the imperial family. The tradition of Trojan lineage had a long ancestry in Epirus, and Butrint could claim to be a genuine Trojan city founded by Helenus, and, as discussed in this volume, there is much to suggest that the city deliberately used this to define itself – not the least in its requests for imperial patronage.[35] Explicit evidence of the approval the city found in imperial circles is to be found in the extensive account and pivotal role accorded to it in Virgil's *Aeneid*. The meeting between Aeneas and Helenus at Butrint is now presented as the pact made between Rome and the east, and Butrint appears as metaphorically linked to Aeneas's foundation of a new Troy, as Nicopolis (Actium) was to be in Augustus' 're-foundation' of Rome. As implied in the numismatic iconography during the reign of Nero, Butrint seems to have attempted to build on this to establish itself as the prime regional Roman centre – a scheme that must have intensified the competition for status with its neighbouring cities, like Phoenicê.[36] The economic realities of expansion and patronage as revealed archaeologically are reviewed in the analysis presented by Sandro De Maria, who raises the important point of provincial reorganisation as a catalyst for civic change. Certainly, the creation of Epirus in the early 2nd century AD seems to have had a fundamental impact on the development of Phoenicê.[37] At Butrint the impact of the Augustan incorporation of the region into Achaea in 27 BC is more easily traced, but both events must have been of critical importance to both cities.

In the *Aeneid*, Butrint is poetically described as a mirror image of Troy. It is not known if Virgil ever visited Butrint, though he must have been intriguingly close by in the late summer/early autumn of 19 BC. According to Suetonius, Virgil set out for Greece and Asia Minor to put the final touched to the *Aeneid*, but meeting Augustus in Athens he resolved instead to return to Rome with him. However, he was to get no further than *Brundisium* (modern Brindisi), where on 21 September he died.[38] Crossing through the Ionian, twice, it is tempting to imagine that Virgil would have wished to see the city for himself. Had he, it is likely that the city he would have seen was one of change, as described in the contribution by William Bowden. The monumental Tower Gate, presumed to have given access to both the lower sanctuary area and the acropolis, was made the entry point for the aqueduct bridge.[39] The implications of this latter structure, the span and design of which may be comparable to the Augustan bridges at Cordoba or Mérida in Spain, as a public monument is analysed by William Bowden, as are the details and symbolism of the maintenance/destruction of the Hellenistic walls in this period.[40] An extra-mural road running along the southern fortification wall has been hypothesised by the location of the small gate giving access to the sanctuary at a point in front of the treasury, as well as the location of a monumental Republican tomb approximately 100 m to the east of this (later incorporated into the so-called Gymnasium), at a point where a second gate may have existed (cf. Fig. 1.3).[41] The former gate continued in use, but the stretch of wall from the theatre to the tomb was demolished. This destruction is explainable as making space for a Roman forum, and hence a desire to create a new monumental focal point for those entering the city. Indeed, as the reconstruction in Figure 11.12 shows, the piers of the aqueduct now effectively obscured the visual monumentality of the Tower Gate. The 'opening-up' of former formal demarcation lines in this way would also have recognised – and encouraged – the expansion of the urban fabric of Butrint across the marshland facing the Vivari Channel, an expansion that was continued onto the Vrina Plain.

As the contributions by David Bescoby and by Andrew Crowson and Oliver Gilkes show, the geophysical and archaeological evidence concur that the layout of the settlement on the Vrina Plain was conditioned by the alignment of the aqueduct. This structure, which in turn followed the alignment of the spur road linking Butrint to Aulon and Nicopolis (cf. Fig. 7.6), was most probably constructed during the Augustan period and it is possible that the land-division scheme on the Vrina Plain was laid out during at this time, too.[42] This new spur road appears later on, at least, to have led to an open area, perhaps a forum, immediately east of which lay an elevated temple, and beyond which, on the edge of the waterway, stood an honorific column monument (Monuments 1 and 2, see below). It is presently unclear whether

a road led from this open area past the column monument to the proposed bridge into Butrint.

There is little evidence from the excavations of any settlement before the later 1st century AD.[43] This development appears to find correspondence in the reference to the plain in the Butrint coinage of the Claudian and Neronian periods describing Butrint as *Colonia Campestris* (cf. Figs 6.15–17).[44] Though, as yet it is uncertain if this represents a renewed investment in the area or an entirely new development. The new suburb of Butrint was clearly a planned settlement organised on an *actus* grid and with a definite division between urban structures to the west of the aqueduct and cemeteries to the east. As the Vrina Plain settlement was laid out, so the area east of it in the Pavlass Valley, David Bescoby believes, was centuriated. This centuriation has yet to be defined on the ground, but the process is certainly consistent with the parallel development of Nicopolis and Phoenicê. The archaeological evidence indicates that the primary thoroughfares within the Vrina Plain settlement appear to be the east–west roads running parallel to the lakeshore (one of which, recent excavations have shown, was colonnaded), highlighting the continued importance of the Vivari Channel and Lake Butrint as a waterway and communication artery in the area. Further, the construction of the aqueduct would effectively have closed Lake Butrint to larger vessels and one would expect to see a corresponding concern with providing adequate anchorage at Butrint itself. It is quite possible that the Vrina suburb provided precisely these facilities or in other ways formed part of a reorganised harbour at Butrint.[45] The construction of the aqueduct may have had regional repercussions too. Strabo locates Phoenicê as lying "above the gulf that is at Buthrotum" suggesting that Lake Butrint traditionally provided a link to the Mediterranean for this city.[46] Hence, the closure of the lake to sea-going vessels may have had economic consequences for Phoenicê; though contemporaneously it may also have encouraged the development and expansion of *Onchesmos* in particular in its status, as Sandro De Maria mentions, as the harbour of Phoenicê.[47]

The organisation of the expanded city on the Vrina Plain appears intimately connected to the re-organisation of Butrint. The physical evidence at Butrint is somewhat ephemeral, but structural alignments suggest the presence of two regular orthogonal systems: one in the area in front of the sanctuary running down to the Vivari Channel, and another occupying the area between the so-called Gymnasium and the Tower Gate.[48] At present it is not possible to determine if the differing alignments were topographically determined or if they represent different chronological developments. A combination of the two seems a likely possibility. Certainly, the topographical restraints posed by the partial demolition of the Hellenistic city wall and incorporation of old extra-mural roadways into an extended civic space around a new Roman forum space would undoubtedly have conditioned the layout of that part of the city. As summarised in Iris Pojani's contribution, recent excavations in the area to the east of the theatre have established the location of the Forum by revealing part of the paved and porticoed space in front of the so-called Tripartite building (cf. Figs 1.3; 2.1 and 5.10). The southern extent of the Forum is still to be established – though, as noted above, it almost certainly extended beyond the alignment of the Hellenistic wall – as are the structural composition around this space. Supposing a new monumental southern entrance to the forum space, the Tripartite building against the acropolis hill gains an intriguing significance as a visual counter-point to this.[49] The structure is being investigated as part of the current excavation programme, and preliminary results suggest that it formed a series of shrines. The dedicatory deities are unknown, though the discovery of an almost complete dedicatory inscription to Minerva Augusta provides a possible identification for at least one of these – though it is not without problems of archaeological context as John Patterson notes in his contribution to this volume. It is possible that a visual focal point within the forum space was provided by the monumental togate statue discussed by Iris Pojani. As she argues, the size of the figure, as well as the late Republican toga style, suggest that it originally depicted Augustus – an identification supported by the figure seemingly being depicted with the right arm raised in the gesture of *adlocutio*. The compelling stylistic similarities with the figures of senators included in the relief depiction of Augustus's triumphal procession on the Actian monument suggests a date immediately after the Actium victory, and reinforces the close cultural identification between Butrint and Nicopolis noted in several of the present papers. The original location of the statue is unknown, but its sheer size makes it unlikely that it was transported far when it was reworked in late antiquity. Certainly, the public nature of the gesture tends to suggest that it was prominently displayed within this reconfigured and 'Romanized' urban landscape. The wide-ranging reorganisation of the city is substantiated by Elizabeth Deniaux's discussion of the political organisation and administration of the city. Based on epigraphic evidence she demonstrates that the city was divided into *vici* (neighbourhoods) under the control of *magistri* – at a date seemingly earlier than the Augustan reform of the neighbourhoods of Rome in 7 BC.[50] Indeed, the adoption of an urban and civic layout closely modelled on that of Rome, indicates that Butrint, so William Bowden contends, was seeking to express its new identity in terms of its built environment.

By the 2nd century the Vrina Plain settlement had extended also to the west of the aqueduct, an expansion that appears associated with a new grid system on a slightly different alignment than that of the aqueduct. However, the reason for this as well as the precise date and relationship between these two alignments is far from resolved. In this respect the Temple is particularly

intriguing. Its central location beside an open area identified in the geophysical survey, perhaps a forum, at the northern terminus of the spur road hypothesized by David Bescoby, as well as its possible associated precinct to the west, suggests an early date for its construction. However, puzzlingly the surviving structure conforms to the proposed later alignment (alignment 2) (cf. Fig. 8.4). Still enigmatic in function, it clearly had a significant role within the urban fabric and recent research has suggested that it may be a *heroon*.[51] Equally interesting are the two freestanding monuments constructed on an elevated knoll immediately north of the open area forming the terminus of the spur road, close to the water's edge (Fig. 9.1). As discussed by Ryan Ricciardi, the later of the two (Monument 1) appears to have been constructed as a freestanding column monument, located so that it was immediately visible to anyone approaching from the Vivari Channel and serving as a symbolic connecting point into the urban area. The function of this monument remains elusive, but its continued preservation within its own walled precinct suggests that it, too, held a particular status. The analogies and functions suggested by Ryan Ricciardi are especially interesting, emphasizing the role such monuments played in proffering civic identity. Interpreted as honorific in function with either funerary or religious connotations, the monument may conceivably be linked to the status of the Temple as a *heroon* – and hence associated with the veneration of an outstanding individual. Alternatively, it might be seen as a monument linking Butrint to Nicopolis – and hence the imperial family – through the worship of Apollo. Indeed, of course, its role could well have been a combination of these serving as an award of honorific status.[52]

The combined results of geophysical survey and excavations highlight the mixed nature of the Vrina Plain suburb: other than the monuments discussed above there is evidence of elaborate villas, as well as more modest dwellings, bathhouses, a mixture of public buildings, a possible *collegium*, areas of possible industrial activity, and – to the west – tombs. The early division between urban and extra-urban structures (tombs) indicates the planned nature of the settlement, but the lack of a single common factor, such as activity or class, defining it should not surprise us. In character it bears a close resemblance to extramural areas of Ostia developing over time, highlighting its suburban status and close association with water traffic. William MacDonald's description of the area around the Porta Marina at Ostia bring to mind the essence of the Vrina Plain well: "An abbreviated, localised extramural armature encompassing most urban activities. A cat's cradle of functional connections: lodging, labouring, conducting business, warehousing, shopping, strolling, idling, meeting, worshipping, eating, and drinking were all accommodated".[53] Indeed, located on a roadway and at a crossing point of the Vivari Channel, it is possible that the area formed the focal point for a rural market, much as has been proposed for the area near the extra-mural circus at Mérida.[54]

Ancient visual analogies for how the Vrina Plain suburb may have appeared are difficult to find. The suggestive seaside townscapes depicted in frescoes from Stabiae are interesting for their inclusion of harboured boats, piers and rows of column monuments, but remain too rooted in a milieu of the upper class *villa maritima*.[55] Other, if not entirely reliable, sources are the 17th/18th-century representations of a now lost 2nd-century AD Roman fresco, recently proposed to show *Antium* south of Rome.[56] The image depicts a town organised as a tight block, facing the sea and laid out on a gridded network of streets. An arcaded pier with arches and column monuments dominates the front plane of the image, but behind it is possible to discern temples, villas, open porticoed spaces, and well as buildings interpreted as *horrea* and baths.[57] Though too monumental in nature, the harbour and cityscape in form captures some of the essence of the Vrina Plain suburb. Archaeologically, a parallel can be found in Roman *Arelate* (Arles) situated within the marshy riverine landscape on the River Rhône.[58] The city was granted colonial status in 46 BC with the establishment of a Caesarian veteran colony. Much developed during the reign of Augustus, the city boasted two aqueducts, a theatre, an amphitheatre and a stadium. An important port, a commercial centre grew up on the opposite riverbank (modern Trinquetaille), linked to the town by a pontoon bridge and a ferry crossing point. The commercial suburb – like the city itself – was laid out on a regular street grid, but at the former the layout was adapted to the line of the river, rather than the cardinal points. Further, the composition of the suburb was mixed including commercial, public and domestic buildings (many with fine mosaic floors), as well as docks, *horrea*, production areas and porticoed spaces associated with trade and local guilds. At Butrint, it remains to be established whether the Vrina Plain settlement was originally planned with a commercial aspect – the commercial traffic would have been much less intense than at an importance centre like Arles – or if it was conceived as primarily a residential quarter, and only gradually gained a mixed character in order to accommodate the trade in agricultural produce from the eastern valleys and lagoonal hinterland of Butrint.

The 2nd-century urban expansion described by Andrew Crowson and Oliver Gilkes for the Vrina Plain – with several bath-houses and other structures of public nature being incorporated into the fabric of the settlement, and a series of domestic building filling the available land – is mirrored also at Butrint. Around the Tower Gate a monumental fountain with associated cistern, and adorned by under life-size statues of Apollo and Dionysus, was constructed facing the street at the bridging point with the Vrina Plain.[59] William Bowden contends that the fountain might have been mirrored by a second nymphaeum on the opposite side of the street to create a

monumental entrance to the city resembling the western gate at Nicopolis. This suggestion is interesting not simply as a topographical detail, but as evidence of a continuity of symbolic and cultural links that had fundamentally informed Butrint during the early Principate. Construction techniques suggest that the enigmatic "Gymnasium" was also constructed or elaborated in this period, as may be the case for the bath-buildings near the Tower Gate and the Theatre. Further, many of the town houses in the area later dominated by the Triconch Palace may belong to this period.[60] Undoubtedly, dwellings now occupied the acropolis and residential Butrint expanded down to the water's edge, with the city reaching the dimensions of the present-day site. The landscape around Butrint, too, appears to have been well populated between the mid-1st and mid-2nd century AD. On the northern entrance to the Vivari Channel, with unequalled (if somewhat exposed) views of Corfu, remains of a villa complex have been discovered on a terrace on the foreshore beside the modern Customs House.[61] A more elaborate villa complex was situated at Diaporit on the south-eastern shore of Lake Butrint, where an original Hellenistic villa was substantially enlarged and elaborated from the mid-1st century AD through the 2nd century.[62] As William Bowden points out, this bears strong similarities to the settlement pattern around Patras, and highlights the long-term effects of colonial foundations. The impact is not the least interesting for its effect also on the managed landscapes around cities not of colonial status, evident, as Sandro De Maria notes, in the centuriation schemes and public building works at Phoenicê.[63]

A further 2nd-century structure at Butrint highlights an aspect that in one way or another permeates all the contributions. Next to the Lion Gate a rock-cut well was aggrandised by a local woman, who gave her name as part of the dedication – *Junia Rufina, friend of nymphs* – on the marble slabs on front of the well shaft.[64] Despite her Roman name, the dedication is inscribed in Greek, conforming to the return to the use of Greek found elsewhere in Achaea in this period.[65] This example of civic munificence is one of the few that so far can be securely dated to the 2nd century AD; however, euergetic dedications and links of patronage to powerful families in or around the imperial court are a particularly prominent feature of Butrint during the Julio-Claudian period. The assistance by T. Pomponius Atticus to the city, as well as the prominent position of his son-in-law Agrippa in the court around Augustus, indicate why both were honoured with statue dedications at Butrint, and suggest why the Pomponii virtually dominated the office of *duovir* (*quinquennalis*).[66] One of these, P. Pomponius Graecinus, and his colleague Milesius dedicated at least one public building in the city during their magistracy, as evidenced by a fragmentary marble inscription with their names.[67] A freedman of the Domitii Ahenobarbi, Cn. Domitius Eros, paid for the refurbishment of the flooring to the west of the theatre – possibly even the entire area around the sanctuary – including his name in lead in the flagstones (Fig. 2.13). The Gnaeus to whom Eros owed his enfranchisement may have been the father or the son of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, celebrated as patron of the colony in 16 BC.[68] A similar effort was undertaken in paving a substantial area on the Vrina Plain, but the surviving letter-moulds are too fragmentary to give any firm name or date for this venture (Fig. 8.7). Other freedmen were involved respectively in the dedication of a shrine to Minerva and possibly in an early refurbishment of the so-called Gymnasium, both donations involving individuals associated with the Otacilii family.[69] The prominent presence of freedmen among the local elite of Butrint, as well as their close link with prominent families in Rome or with families of Roman businessmen (*negotiatores*) is entirely similar to other colonial cities in Achaea, such as Corinth and Dyme.[70] Indeed, the possibility of freedmen advancing to municipal decurion, and hence the office of *duovir*, is a feature of many Caesarian colonies, though only expressly stated in the legislation for Urso in Spain (the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Juliae/Lex Ursonensis*) discussed by Elizabeth Deniaux.[71] Though revoked by Augustus in 24 BC, the practise (and the continued prominent presence of freedmen) highlights an important underlying motivation for colonial settlements in general, something that is particularly significant for Butrint. Apart from considerations of land provisions to avoid social tensions in Rome, it ensured a powerful presence of people loyal not just to Rome but often directly to leading men in Rome, and hence guaranteed both the safety of the littoral routes between Italy and the East, and the political stability in an area previously a theatre of struggle in the civil wars. The intertwining aims of regional stability and personal influence may be measured in the rise to prominence of the Pomponii, which occur only after the Augustan refoundation of Butrint. In other words, their standing may not primarily be attributed to the status of T. Pomponius Atticus, but possibly rather to a familial connections with his son-in-law, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, and in turn to his proximity to imperial power after 31 BC.[72]

The nature of this local euergetism follows a pattern common also in Italian cities. The principal phases of urban renewal correspond to the Augustan period and to the early 2nd century AD – from Trajan to the Antonines – and public activity undertaken by local individuals show an overwhelming interest in temples, baths, public buildings and spaces, and structures related to entertainment.[73] At Butrint the theatre is, Milena Melfi contends, closely linked to both public and religious concerns and, by virtue of the sanctuary, one of the defining features of the city. Hence it is hardly surprising that it was the object of significant refurbishment and enlargement.[74] Indeed, the hierarchical seating arrangement in theatres, brought in with Augustus' *Lex Julia Theatralis*,

might also have appealed to the new elite at Butrint by providing an effective visual articulation of their local standing and hence have made it an attractive object of embellishment.[75] However, as several contributors to this volume point out, the date of this refurbishment is uncertain, with at best a *terminus post quem* date being furnished by the refurbishments of Cn. Domitius Eros since the stage building overlies the main route through the sanctuary. Excavating the *scaenae* building, Ugolini noted the use of reused materials, signs of secondary work and different construction techniques, and it is possible that the present remains represent the latest in a series of refurbishments of the theatre.[76] The erection of statues of benefactors and of the imperial family also conforms to common acts of local euergetism. At Butrint it is worth noting the early date and the unusually early combination of Augustus, Livia and Agrippa in a single group.[77] The identification and find spot of the portraits have for many suggested a close correlation in date between these and the theatre. However, the recent publication of the original excavation report has highlighted difficulties with such an interpretation.[78] The six niches in the *scaenae frons* building each only measure roughly 2.20 m in height, 1 m in width and 0.50 m in depth; in other words, they appear too small for the over life-size statues to have been set within them.[79] Archaeologically, the statues themselves are not unproblematic either.[80] Firstly, the statues were discovered lying face down with their heads towards the *scaenae* building. That is, even hypothesising that they pertain to the *scaenae frons* decoration, the figures could not have fallen from the niches but must have been deliberately placed on the stage. Secondly, statuary fragments were found across the area of the theatre and associated buildings and not just in front of the stage building. Moreover, we must recall that the body of material discovered is far from homogenous: Ugolini counts 19 heads and many tops of heads, none of which, significantly, he could link to the excavated figures.[81] Hence, it seems very likely that this extraordinary assemblage was partly or wholly brought from some other location(s) close by. Lastly, in support of this conclusion, several of the statues show sign of deliberate damage.[82] In other words, it is possible that the marble sculptures were gathered inside the then redundant theatre in preparation for being broken up. The monumental togate statue discussed by Iris Pojani may be part of the same sequence of events. In this case, though, several attempts at reconfiguring the piece were made before it was abandoned.

Where the statues were originally displayed is difficult to determine. The monumental size of the togate statue could suggest that it was reworked close to its original location in some part of the Forum. Indeed, the identification and *adlocutio* pose suggested for it by Iris Pojani would make it entirely suited for this space. For the group of Augustus, Livia and Agrippa, it is likely that the sanctuary was the object of the dedication. Based on sightlines prior to the construction of the extended *scaenae* building, Milena Melfi suggests the so-called *prytaneum* as a possible location. The argument is compelling, not the least since a portrait bust in the manner of Antinous was discovered here, though it is difficult to envisage how the structure of the building would have provided enough visibility for the statues within.[83] However, the little piazza west of the theatre was clearly a significant area. The two dedications, erected by Aulus Granius as *magister* of a *vicus*, are both located on its northern side, opposite the small gate in the Hellenistic city wall (cf. Figs 1.3 and 2.1).[84] The gate continued in use during the Empire, and associated with the crossroad location of the compital shrines for the *vici*, it strengthens the impression of this area as being especially important in the early Roman city. Elizabeth Deniaux makes the compelling observation that one of these inscriptions is dedicated to the Lares, the traditional deities of the *vici*, and the other to Stata Mater, the deity associated with protection from fire, and significantly at this time in the Forum Romanum in Rome with the protection of pavement.[85] Might not this link Cn. Domitius Eros's refurbishment of the paving in the little piazza west of the theatre with the newly discovered Forum to the east of the theatre? Two shrine-like structures immediately west of the treasury (cf. Figs 1.3 and 2.1) could conceivably be associated with these cults, though their structural development remains uncertain.[86] Their location on the piazza immediately in front of the small gate, and, seemingly, the most visible monument on the piazza after the incorporation of the treasury building beneath the theatre seating, might suggest these as appropriate for the imperial portraits. Though here, too, the structure gives no hint at how the statues could have been displayed within.

As shown in the discussion by Andrew Crowson and Oliver Gilkes, by the later 2nd century AD the Vrina Plain settlement was palpably in decline. Recent excavations of the peristyle house and the Apsidal hall in 2005 show how many rooms were turned into either workshops or used for storage. The functional character of the suburb, it seems, was undergoing significant change. The town had become markedly less affluent and perhaps more agrarian in nature. This episode was followed by a distinctive phase characterized by extensive wall collapse and demolition debris over roads and in open spaces. This sudden and extensive damage has all the hallmarks of an earthquake. Support for such an interpretation comes from the abandonment of the lakeside villa at Diaporit and of the dwellings on the acropolis of Butrint at this time. Certainly evidence of severe earthquake damage has been found at the theatre at Phoenicê and dated to the very early 3rd century AD.[87] No historical reference records an earthquake at this date, but the archaeological evidence is compelling if still somewhat hypothetical.[88] The Vrina Plain settlement appears to contract severely after this, suffering a period of virtual abandonment.

However, Butrint was not deserted, as the major rebuilding of the Triconch Palace in the later 3rd century illustrates.[89] Further investigations may shed light on the nature of this 3rd-century change and its effects at Butrint. As the evidence from the Vrina Plain and the Triconch Palace site suggests, it is possible that the rebuilding of the city was undertaken unevenly and over a long period of time. Ugolini's excavation report on the theatre lacks analysis of datable material from later periods, though it is noteworthy that he records the presence of polygonal blocks, probably pertaining to a terracing wall fallen from the slopes of the acropolis.[90] Could the sanctuary and public spaces of Butrint have suffered harder, due to the collapse from the terraced slopes as well as the summit of the acropolis, restricting the reoccupation of this area? As Iris Pojani shows, although the reworking of the togate figure appears to belong to a late antique phenomenon, archaeologically it could have occurred earlier. It is at least possible that the figure, with its extravagant gesture, could have suffered irreparable damage during an earthquake and that the attempts at reconfiguring the figure were in response to this natural disaster. Unfortunately Ugolini's excavations do not shed light on whether the statues found inside the theatre were assembled here after the same disaster. As such it is not possible to determine when and over what period these statues were gathered and then broken up. Nevertheless, the deliberate damage to these figures appears qualitatively different to the reworking of the togate statue. Certainly, it is now clear that the spoliation and reuse of the theatre itself took place over a long period of time.[91]

Butrint recovered slowly after whatever misfortune overwhelmed it in the central decades of the 3rd century. The paucity of coins from the later 3rd and earlier 4th centuries as shown by Sam Moorhead, Shpresa Gjongecaj and Richard Abdy confirms the picture provided by the archaeological assessment to date. With the exception of the re-use of the outlying Bath-house 2 towards the eastern edge of the Vrina Plain suburb, virtually no 4th-century occupation was found, as Crowson and Gilkes point out. Instead, during this period the Triconch Palace and, alongside it, the so-called Merchant's House, began to grow in size beside the Vivari Channel. There is an impression, then, that the new nexus of wealth lay alongside the waterway with the old buildings on the Plain being plundered for materials during the early to mid-4th century, and from the later 4th century, even monumental buildings in the heart of Butrint being despoiled of their ashlar, judging from the Triconch Palace excavations. The volume of coins found in the excavations lends emphasis to the steady growth of the city in the 5th century. Certainly, by the later 5th century the old public area around the sanctuary and Roman Forum was now occupied by undistinguished dwellings as were the terraces rising up the south-facing side of the acropolis. At this time on the Vrina Plain a church, very possibly part of a monastic community, was constructed in the ruins close to the Apsidal hall, while another monastery was made at Diaporit. By the early to mid-6th century Butrint and its satellite dependencies had reached their apogee. Then, quite suddenly around the third quarter of the century, the ecclesiastical centres on the Vrina Plain and Diaporit fell swiftly into disrepair, and over the next half-century, judging from the Triconch Palace excavations, a startling decline overwhelmed Butrint. By the mid-7th century, the city was almost certainly reduced to a tiny nucleus occupying the acropolis.

From its inception as a colony under Julius Caesar to its apogee in the Justinianic period, Butrint was first and foremost a Mediterranean port with a rich lagoonal hinterland. Smaller in scale than Nicopolis, it nonetheless took advantage of its Roman courtly connections, as several contributors show, to establish itself on the sea and land routes that joined Italy to the East. Although the colony took shape for the most part behind its Hellenistic walls, as William Bowden points out, it nonetheless assumed a new Roman identity, making effective use of all its resources, including the familial connections of local landlords, to lock its destiny into that of the Empire as a whole. These new studies show that in every respect the model of investment was carefully devised, and at least until the later 2nd century, followed a pattern of colonial development to be found, for example, at Corinth or indeed, further afield in southern Gaul. As such, until struck by some as yet undefined disaster in the 3rd century, Butrint became a secure and prosperous port on the Straits of Corfu, loyal to the aspirations of Rome.

Notes

1 Hodges 2006; Hordern and Purcell 2000.
2 Hodges 2006.
3 Francis and Gjipali 2005.
4 Arafat and Morgan 1995; Haxhis 1998; Mustilli 1941.
5 Martin 2004, 80–85 with further references.
6 Caesar *Civil Wars* 3.16.
7 Purcell 1987: 75.
8 Purcell 2003: 10.
9 Braudel 1972.
10 Ugolini 1937: 11–12.
11 Ugolini 1937: 15–18.
12 Hodges *et al.* 2004: 7–8.
13 Hodges *et al.* 2004; cf. Carver 1993.
14 Pluciennik *et al.* 2004: 51, 54–57.
15 Çondi 1988: 237–40.
16 Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002: 219–21; Chroston and Hounslow 2004; Hounslow and Chroston 2002.
17 Martin 2004.
18 Cf. Gilkes 2003.
19 Lane 2004. The study was originally presented as a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Sheffield.
20 Hammond 1967; Wiseman 2001.
21 Gilkes and Lako 2004.
22 Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002; Bowden and Përzhita 2004.

23 See Pojani in this volume.
24 Strabo 7.7.5.
25 See Lane 2004: 31–33 and Bescoby in this volume.
26 See Martin 2004: 79–85 (with further references) for a discussion of proposed settlement models.
27 Wilkes 2003: 166–69; see also Melfi in this volume.
28 Cabanes 1982; Wilkes 2003: 165–6.
29 On the *koinon* of the Praesebes, see Cabanes 1974; Cabanes 1998; Ceka 1976; Hammond 1967: 655. On Hellenistic Butrint, see Cabanes 1986; Ceka 2002: 44–48; Bergemann 1998: 18–46.
30 On the archaeology and structural details of the theatre, see Gilkes 2003. For a recent study of the uses of healing sanctuaries, see Petsalis-Diomidis 2005.
31 For detailed discussions of the intervention by Atticus and Cicero, as well as their links with Epirus, see Deniaux 1987; 1988; 1993a: 362–66; 1993b.
32 See, in particular, the direct appeals made to Plancus and his associates (Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 16.16a–f), as well as reports of the rumours regarding the settlers (Cicero *Letters to Atticus* 16.2.1, cf. 15.29.3, 16.1.2, 16.4.3).
33 Cf. Strabo (*Geography* 8.6.23) who states that most of the settlers at Corinth were freedmen. Appian (8.136) refers to Caesar making arrangements for the urban poor, presumably from Rome, to be given land at Corinth and Carthage. Strabo's comment on Butrint that it had "alien settlers consisting of Romans" may be an indication of the Roman metropolitan origin – rather than any (mixed) military origin – of the early settlers, Strabo *Geography* 7.7.5. See further discussion below.
34 See Deniaux in this volume and Deniaux forthcoming.
35 See Hansen in this volume. For recent research on numismatic imagery and civic identity in the Roman provinces, see Howgego, Heuchert and Burnett 2005.
36 For a discussion of the Neronian numismatic iconography see Hansen in this volume. It is worth noting how language was an important expression of identity for both cities: Butrint adopting Latin to highlight its colonial status, Phoenicê continuing to use Greek for its numismatic legends; however, the close correspondence in articulation of imperial honours on their respective coinages reveal how both were informed by Rome, cf. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 278–9. On the use of Latin in Achaea in general, see Rizakis 1995.
37 Bogdani 2003: 124–25.
38 Suetonius *On Poets, Vergil* 35; Halfmann 1986: 158.
39 On the Tower Gate, see Martin 2004: 83; Mustilli 1941. Ugolini never saw the Tower Gate excavated and instead associated the Lake Gate with that described in Virgil, cf. Ugolini 1937: 117–9; Ugolini 1942: 49–56.
40 For the low, arched bridges at Cordoba (across the Guadalquivir) and Mérida (across the Guadiana), see respectively Raventòs 2004a: fig. 66, plate 1 and Raventòs 2004b: fig. 7.
41 Martin 2004: 83; Mustilli 1941: 695. For the suggestion of a Republican rather than a Hellenistic date as suggested by Mustilli, see Ceka 2002: 55.
42 On the communication networks of the region during the Empire, see Rougé 1987.
43 It should be noted, though, that the high water table precludes examining the earliest Roman levels in the lower city of Butrint and on the Vrina Plain.
44 For a discussion of the ethnic of CCIB used on the Claudian and Neronian coinage as *Colonia Campestris Iulia Buthrotum*, see Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 276 with further references, and the contribution by Hansen in this volume.
45 N.G.L. Hammond (1967) suggested that the number of gates in the northern part of the Hellenistic defensive wall indicated the location of the harbour in the bay north of Butrint; cf. Martin 2004: 82, fig 6.5. No structures have as yet been found to identify the Hellenistic or later harbour.
46 Strabo *Geography* 7.7.5 (Loeb Classical Library 1924, translated by H.L. Jones).
47 See further Hodges forthcoming, as well as Hodges *et al.* 1997: 214.
48 Martin 2004: 89.
49 See the contributions by Pojani and Bowden in this volume.
50 For a recent discussion of the neighbourhoods of Rome, see Lott 2004.
51 Unpublished interim report on the Butrint Foundation's 2005 excavations.
52 For the dual triumphal and funerary role embodied in freestanding column monuments, see also Davies 2000: 72 & note 80.
53 MacDonald 1986: 266 (slightly abbreviated).
54 Raventòs 2004b: 35–36.
55 See in particular, the seascape with boats and buildings currently in the Archaeological Museum, Naples, cf. *In Stabiano* 2004: 30.
56 Brandizzi Vittucci 2000: figs 37–38 and pl. 26 (reviewed by Pasqualini 2003, cf. her fig. 1).
57 Brandizzi Vittucci 2000: 99–115.
58 Droste 2003, in particular 77–79 and figs 43, 106, 107; Heijmans and Sintes 1994: 141–51. For aspects of the riverine trade, see Long and Sintes 2003.
59 Martin 2004: 91; Ugolini 1937: 150–1; Ugolini 1942: 81-90.
60 Gilkes and Lako 2004. On the so-called Gymnasium and the bath-house near the theatre, see respectively Bowden and De Maria in this volume
61 Unpublished Butrint Foundation survey, 2004.
62 Bowden and Përzhita 2004.
63 See further Giorgi 2002 and 2003.
64 Ugolini 1937: 151–2; Ugolini 1942: 68–75.
65 Rizakis 1995: 385–6. Note also the statue base written in Greek honouring Marcus Ulpius Annius Quintianus, the proconsul of Macedonia, as patron and benefactor at Butrint in the late 2nd–early 3rd century AD, *AE* 1949.265; Cabanes 1996: 97–98 (with further bibliography); Ugolini 1942: 208–9, fig. 212. See also Cabanes 1996: 90, who note the presence of 6 funerary cippi from the imperial period dedicated to persons with Roman names and using Roman formulation but written in Greek.
66 Cf. M. Pomponius Dionysius, attested as a freedman of Atticus (manumitted 55 BC). His *praenomen* Marcus was given in honour of Cicero. Cicero *Letter to Atticus* 4.15.1; Treggiari 1969: 119–20. For the dedication to Atticus, see de Franciscis 1941: 281–2; for the portrait statues of Agrippa, see Bergemann 1998: 132, 161 and Hansen in this volume.
67 Bergemann 1998: 57; de Franciscis 1941: 282–4.
68 See Deniaux and Melfi is this volume. The older Gnaeus,

imperator in 42 BC and consul in 32 BC, initially supported Marcus Antonius but famously defected to the side of Octavian shortly before the Actium battle; already ill, he died soon thereafter. The younger Gnaeus, consul in 32 AD, married Agrippina the Younger, the granddaughter of Agrippa, in 28 AD with whom he had one son, the future emperor Nero; he died around 40 AD.

69 For a discussion of the Otacilii and the dedication of the shrine to Minerva, see Patterson in this volume; for the inscription found near the so-called gymnasium, see Deniaux 2004 and in this volume.

70 Rizakis 2001; Spawforth 1996. In Achaea, Patras is significantly different by being a veteran settlement, and hence its local elite was composed of veterans, cf. Rizakis 2001: 48.

71 See also Crawford 1996: 409/428 no. CV; Rizakis 2001: 41–42; Treggiari 1969: 63.

72 As the letters of Cicero indicates, Atticus clearly had a well-established client base in the area; cf. Treggiari 1969: 107–8, 151–2. Note also the evocatively named Q. Caecilius Epirota, the freedman of Atticus who is the *grammaticus* and teacher of his daughter Caecilia Attica after her marriage to Agrippa; cf. Suetonius *De grammaticis* 16; Rawson 2005: 224; Treggiari 1969: 123.

73 Cf. Lomas 2003: 29 and table 2.2. Italian cities further have a pre-Augustan period of activity, not pertinent to Butrint. Lomas's (2003: 29, see also p. 37) discussion of the uncertainty regarding the impetus and financing for these chance is valid also for Butrint, though here, as noted above, the colonial refoundation and provincial reorganisations in these periods may have provided a motivation.

74 Wilkes 2003 and Melfi in this volume. See also De Maria and Bowden in this volume on dating of construction techniques.

75 Rawson 1987.

76 Gilkes 2003: 96–97. The moulding on the podia of the scaenae frons is dated to the mid-1st century BC by Johannes Bergemann (1998: 56 figs 34–35), on basis of comparative material from Ostia. That is, roughly contemporary with the inscriptions removed from the Hellenistic theatre building – and hence possibly pertaining to that, as suggested by Ugolini – or possibly to be associated with an earlier Roman Republican structure, as hinted at by Wilkes (2003: 158).

77 Cf. Hansen in this volume.

78 Gilkes 2003; cf. page 176, fig. 6.78 for a reconstruction done by Ugolini's colleague, Carlo Ceschi.

79 This obvious fact was first pointed out by the participants of the May 2003 sculpture workshop, for which we are very grateful. Ugolini details that he found six statues roughly 2.20 m high and two statues roughly 1.50 m high, cf. Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 199, 212.

80 Much of the following has already been summarised in Gilkes 2003: 177–8; which is particularly interesting for the contextual relationship made with the spoliation of the theatre as a whole.

81 Gilkes 20003: 211. Ugolini did not seem to be aware of the apparent join between a female statue and a portrait head in the manner of Agrippina the Younger both found in the theatre (see Fig. 4.11), nor does he here discuss the relationship between the Antium Apollo head and the Nemesis of Rhamnous body-type that he was later to propose (Fig. 5.5); Ugolini and Pojani 2003: figs 8.14, 8.25 and 8.34.

82 Gilkes 2003: 206. The damage to the forehead, eyes and mouth of several of the heads could be due to a fall, but appears closely linked to characteristics identified by Eric Varner as indicative of deliberate defacement, Varner 2001: 42, 51.

83 For the bust of "Antinous", see Pojani in this volume.

84 See also Wilkes 2003: fig. 6.65. The inscriptions appear to be in their original location, despite later being incorporated into a wall running behind the fountain in the centre of the piazza. For details of the inscriptions, see Deniaux in this volume.

85 See also Lott 2004: 167–8 for a discussion of Stata Mater as recipient of compital worship.

86 Budina 1971; Pani 1988.

87 Villa at Diaporit: Bowden and Përzhita 2004; acropolis dwellings: Arafat and Morgan 1995; theatre at Phoenicê: Villicich, Bogdani and Giannotti 2005.

88 For a discussion of the evidence for earthquakes in the Mediterranean, see Guidoboni 1994.

89 Gilkes and Lako 2004: 154–60.

90 Gilkes 2003: 79, 177.

91 Gilkes 2003: 177–8.

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2 The Sanctuary of Asclepius

Milena Melfi

This paper is an attempt to re-construct the physical aspect and the history of the Sanctuary of Asclepius at Butrint from the archaeological and historical data.[1] Many of my conclusions must remain hypothetical, and some will surely be the subject of revisions and modifications in the light of more detailed future examinations of the pertinent materials.

During the 1929 excavations of the theatre area, Luigi Ugolini brought to light the so-called "shrine of Asclepius".[2] This consisted of a small temple-like building (*c.* 7 × 5 m) partially hidden underneath the substructures of the theatre *cavea* and internally divided into two parts, which Ugolini defined as *pronaos* and *naos* (Figs. 2.1–2). The façade, in Roman masonry similar to that of the theatre, and today heavily restored, featured a central door with two symmetrical windows on either

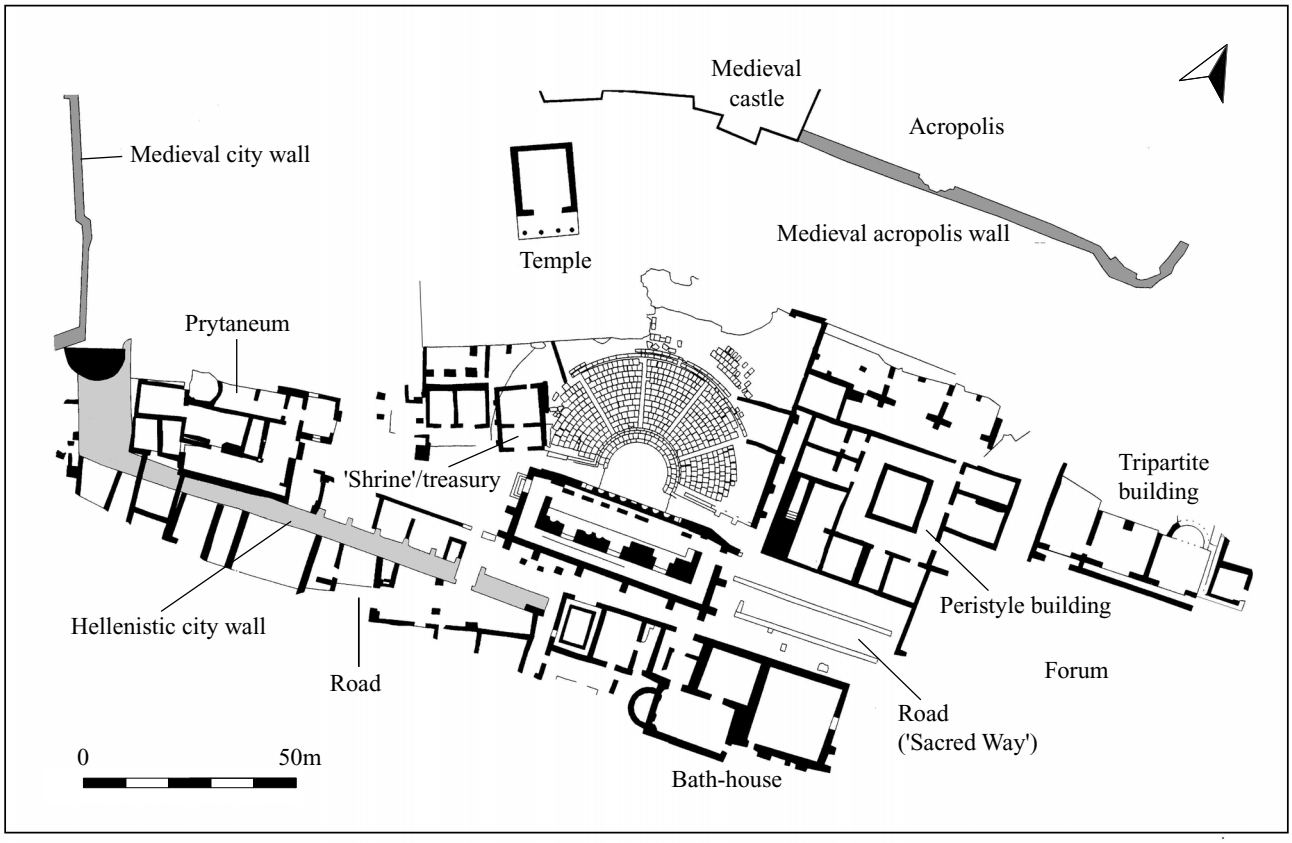

Fig. 2.1 General plan of the theatre area (BF)

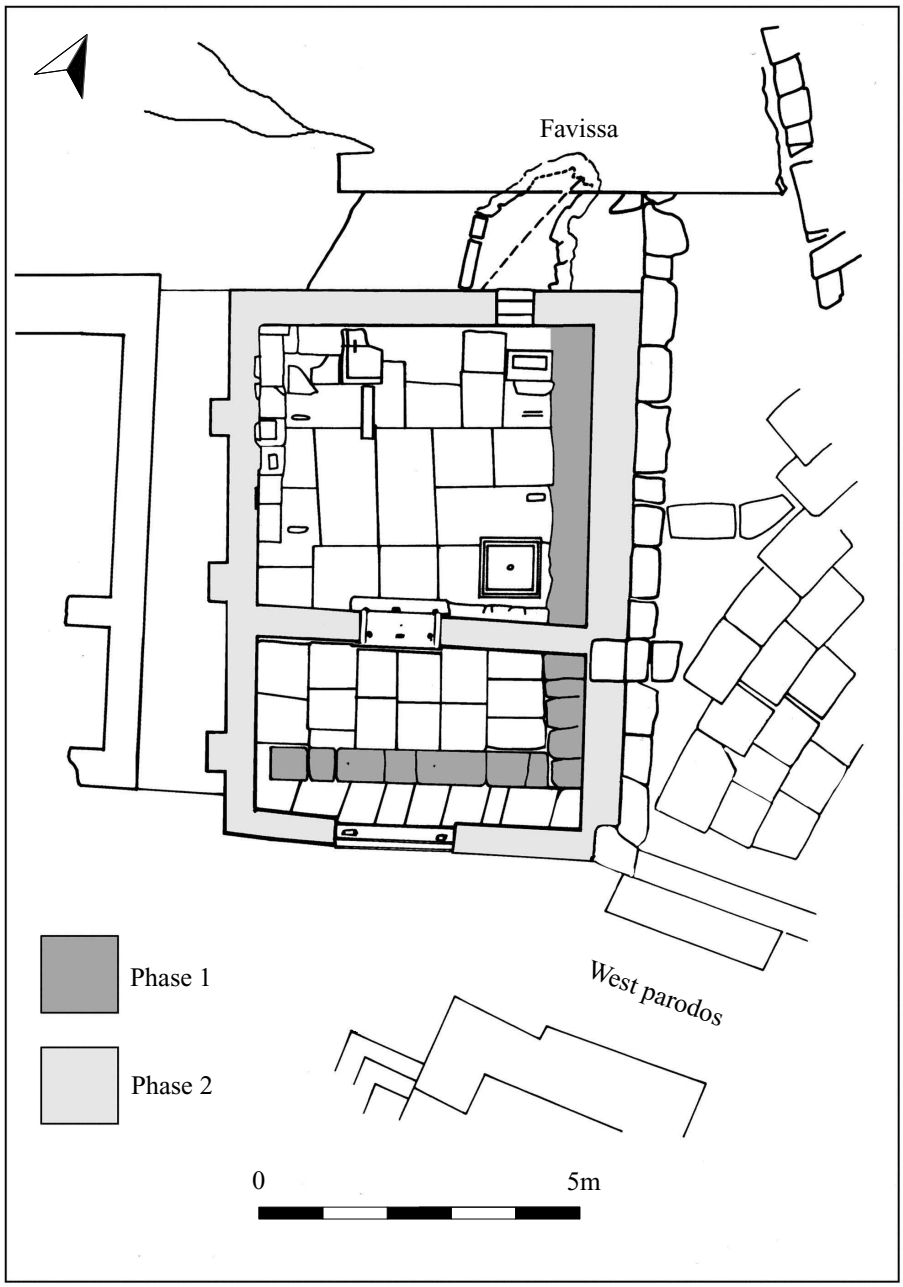

Fig. 2.2 Plan of the 'shrine' of Asclepius (BF)

sides (Fig. 2.3). The central door opened into the *pronaos*, irregularly paved with stone slabs, through which, passing a threshold with double closure, one could have gained access to the proper *naos*. The latter, equally paved with stone slabs, was characterised by the presence of a bench along its west side and of a small window next to the north–east corner.

The upper side of the bench was furnished with a series of square and rectangular fittings, into which inscriptions or votive objects were probably inserted, as confirmed by the rectangular shapes still visible in the plaster of the western wall (Fig. 2.4).[3] After examination, Ugolini realised that the bench itself was made of reused material, in particular fragments of *stelai* and inscribed blocks, and he decided to dismantle it to recuperate the single objects.[4] The exploration of the window on the rear wall led to the most surprising discovery: behind the back wall of the shrine, in a rock-cut compartment closed and roofed by stone slabs, a rich votive deposit was found, containing 340 objects mostly of Hellenistic date: pottery, votive objects and inscriptions mentioning the name of Asclepius.[5]

The materials found inside, and immediately outside, the small 'shrine' were also extremely abundant, varied

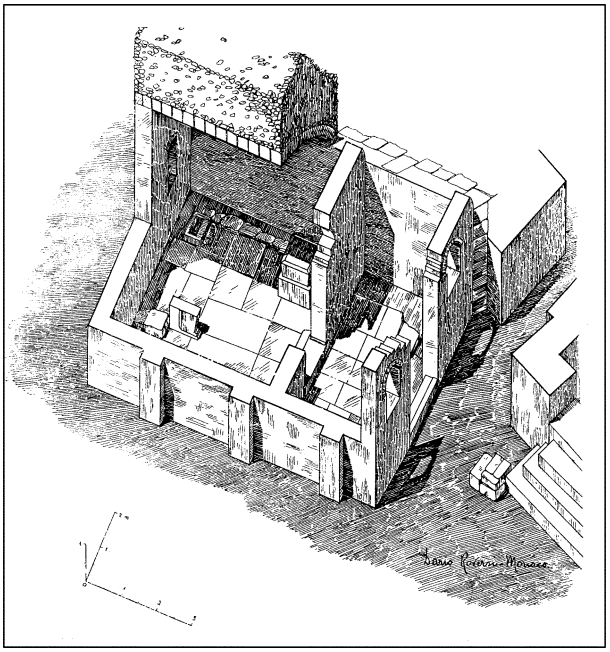

Fig. 2.3 Reconstruction of the 'shrine' (after Ugolini 1942)

and interesting: fragments of statues, dedicatory inscriptions to Asclepius, a lion-shaped foot of a *trapeza* – which Ugolini supposed to be originally located along the rear wall of the building and used for cult purposes – and the so-called "altar of the priest Philistus" (Figs. 2.5–6).[6] The latter consisted of two square stone blocks of slightly different dimensions, one set on top of the other, bearing the dedicatory inscription of the *hiereus* Philistos, datable to the Hellenistic period.

On the basis of the excavated material, Ugolini proposed an interpretation of the building as dedicated to the cult of Asclepius; the main cultic features being the dedications, the *trapeza* and the 'altar'. Accordingly, he published a brief reconstruction of the history of the 'shrine'.[7] From the irregularities of the stone paving he recognised the existence of an earlier 'shrine', of slightly inferior dimensions to the one presently visible, and he attested this phase to the "età greca" on the basis of the offerings in the deposit buried in the back wall. The Greek building was interpreted, mostly for reasons of dimension and proportion, as a prostyle *in antis*, with two columns at the front. During the Roman period the 'shrine' was entirely rebuilt: enlarged on its west and north sides, and roofed with a brick vault, which was

Fig. 2.4 The bench against the wall of the 'shrine' (MCR)

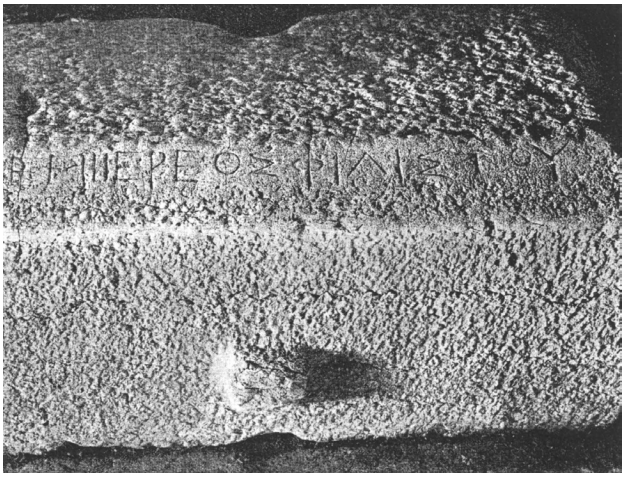

Fig. 2.5 The so-called Ara di Filisto *(MCR)*

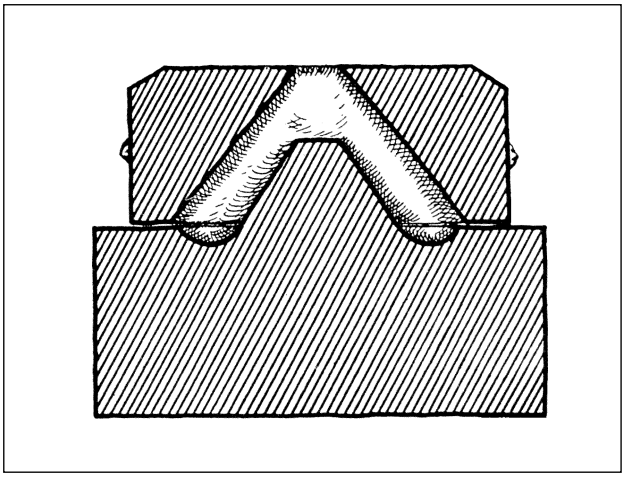

Fig. 2.6 The so-called Ara di Filisto*, section drawing (after Ugolini 1942)*

eventually to be almost entirely covered by the rubble concrete support for the western extension of the theatre. The present arrangement of the interior of the building was attributed to this later period, when the Hellenistic inscriptions were reused for the construction of the bench and the Roman pieces of sculpture were added to the original cultic furniture.

Ugolini's general conclusions relied mostly on the interpretation of the 'shrine' as a cult place in itself, and its connection with the adjacent theatre was implied but never developed. This raises the question of whether the monument excavated by Ugolini should really be considered a shrine dedicated to the cult of Asclepius. Alternatively, since sanctuaries of Asclepius normally consist of many different buildings, devoted to specific cult practices, ranging from healings to sacrifices and public spectacles, is it possible to identify such structures at Butrint?

A 'shrine' for Asclepius?

From a topographical and architectural point of view, the 'shrine' seems to possess features unusual for a temple: the building is practically hidden in the massive structure of the theatre, and the presence of the earlier *parodos*, and of the later Roman stage building, would have prevented the arrangement of an altar or any sacrificial area in front of it (Fig. 2.7).[8] Moreover, the reduced dimensions and the lack of monumentality of the building add to the difficulty in interpreting the "sacello di Esculapio" as the sole place of worship for the god.

The picture seems to be further complicated by the archaeological record. The sculptural and epigraphic materials found in the room belong to the entire lifespan of the cult place, and some of these were kept in the building even when obviously no longer in use, as is the case with the inscriptions built into the bench on the western wall of the cella. The number of finds confined in this small space suggests that the room was, at least in its last phase, clustered with statues and votive objects and consequently not usable for the day-to-day performance of the cult, despite the presence of the *trapeza* and the "altare di Filisto". The latter, in particular, deserves a more precise examination. Of the two blocks that constituted the 'altar', the upper one has a small opening on its upper face leading into a hollow interior, which suggests the interpretation of the object as a *thesauros* or safe-box for the coin offerings to the god (Fig. 2.6).[9] The coins could have been easily introduced through the opening in the upper block and eventually collected by the priests using appropriate lifting machines.[10] Evidence for the presence and usage of *thesauroi* can be found in many sanctuaries, especially Asclepieia since healing practices were often offered in exchange for appropriate payments.[11] This is the case, for example, of the *thesauroi* dedicated to Asclepius in Melos, Corinth and Lebena.[12]

In this context it is worth considering the section of Ugolini's publication dedicated to the dismantling of the bench made of re-used material:

> Il quinto blocco apparve in tutto simile alla parte alta dell'ara di Filisto […] però è più piccolo, più rozzo e senza iscrizione. Esso misura cm 51 × 51 di lato e cm 25 di spessore. Da una parte — quella che era l'inferiore quando il blocco era *in situ* — esso ha un incavo ogivale […] comunicante con l'opposta superficie mediante un piccolo foro rettangolare di circa cm 5 × 2 di lato. Al di qua e al di là dell'incavo ogivale vi sono due fori, poco profondi e rettangolari, atti ad accogliere una specie di perno per far tenere a posto questa pietra sull'altra sottostante, ora scomparsa.[13]

The block in question is still visible in the position recorded by Ugolini and retains the characteristics described above: hence there was originally a second *thesauros*, the bottom part of which was later re-used in the masonry of the bench. The example appears to be of

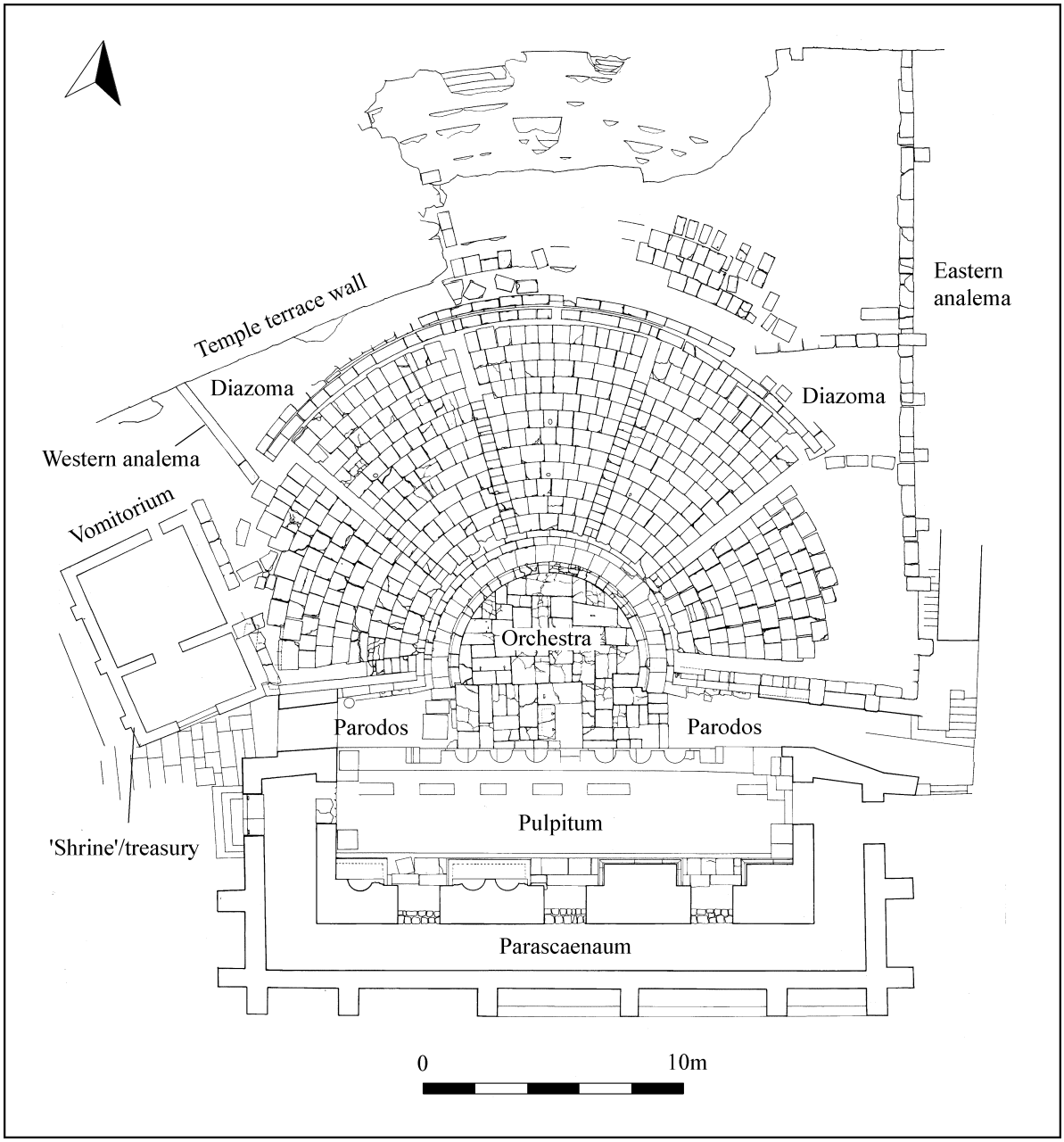

Fig. 2.7 Annotated plan of the theatre (BF)

a slightly different type than the previous; though, one well attested in Greece in the Classical and Hellenistic period, for example in the Asclepieion of Corinth.[14]

As well as the two *thesauroi*, at least for the period preceding the construction of the bench, the presence of a special closure regulating the access to the *naos* is of significance. In fact, Ugolini noted that the threshold of the main room of the 'shrine' contained a double row of holes for the insertion of the posts. This suggests that the entire building should be interpreted as a treasury in which the wealth of the sanctuary, as well as the more precious or not frequently used sacred objects, were safely kept. Treasuries are often found in Asclepieia and other major sanctuaries, and such an interpretation would make sense of the special closure, the safe-boxes and the number of different objects of diverse date found in the 'shrine'.[15] A comparison with the so-called *oikos* at the Asclepieion of Delos, which performed the function of treasury, is particularly interesting. The epigraphical accounts reveal a situation akin to that of Butrint: the building was closed by double keys and contained a number of objects, including one *trapeza*, three statues of Asclepius and one of Apollo.[16] The interpretation of the 'shrine' at Butrint as a treasury is further strengthened by the architectural analogy, which has recently been made, with the Athenian treasury at Delphi.[17]

The relationship between the 'shrine' and the theatre

The building most directly connected with the 'shrine' is the theatre (Fig. 2.7). As John Wilkes has shown, the first phase of the auditorium presents a number of irregularities in shape, which can only be explained by the existence of earlier structures.[18] In particular, the extension of the lower *cavea* was limited to the west by the 'shrine' of Asclepius and to the east by a long rectangular structure, identified by the Italian and Albanian archaeologists as a Greek stoa.[19] The first building phase of the 'shrine', in other words, preceded the construction of the theatre.[20] The theatre can be dated around the middle of the 3rd century BC on the basis of the records of slave manumissions inscribed on the western *parodos* and the *diazoma*, and a dedicatory inscription running along the second row of seats.[21]

The link between the two buildings became even more evident in the Roman phase, when a stage building was joined to the auditorium by means of vaults constructed over the open-sided entrances of the Greek theatre.[22] At the same time, the seating in the lower *cavea* was extended above the reconstructed 'shrine' of Asclepius, and the earlier western entrance to the Greek theatre was replaced by a *vomitorium* situated above the site of the earlier votive deposit (Fig. 2.7).[23] This new arrangement implied the almost complete absorption of the 'shrine' into the theatre substructures, and the subordination of its entrance to the needs of the stage building.

The close physical relationship between the theatre and the 'shrine' from their earliest phases suggests a specific association with the same cult. The 3rd century BC dedicatory inscription running along the second row of seats states that the theatre was built ἀπὸ τῶν ποθόδων τοῦ θεοῦ – from the sacred money of the god.[24] That the god in question is to be interpreted as Asclepius is evident from the proximity of the so-called shrine, with its dedications to the god, and from the manumissions, most of which were performed in the name of Asclepius and under the supervision of the priest of the god.[25] Indeed, the same type of documents, as attested in the theatre *parodoi*, has been found inside the 'shrine'.[26] Further, the priests known from the dedications in the 'shrine' are possibly the same as those recorded in the manumissions. This might be the case both of the *hiereus* Philistos, the dedicant of the treasury box (see above), and of the *hiereus* Aristomachos who, according to an unpublished note by Morricone, was responsible for the construction of the Hellenistic 'shrine'.[27] In other words, the Hellenistic priests took care of the 'shrine' – that is to say of the wealth of Asclepius – and administered, under the patronage of the god, the manumission of slaves, as recorded in the theatre. Such practices are not uncommon

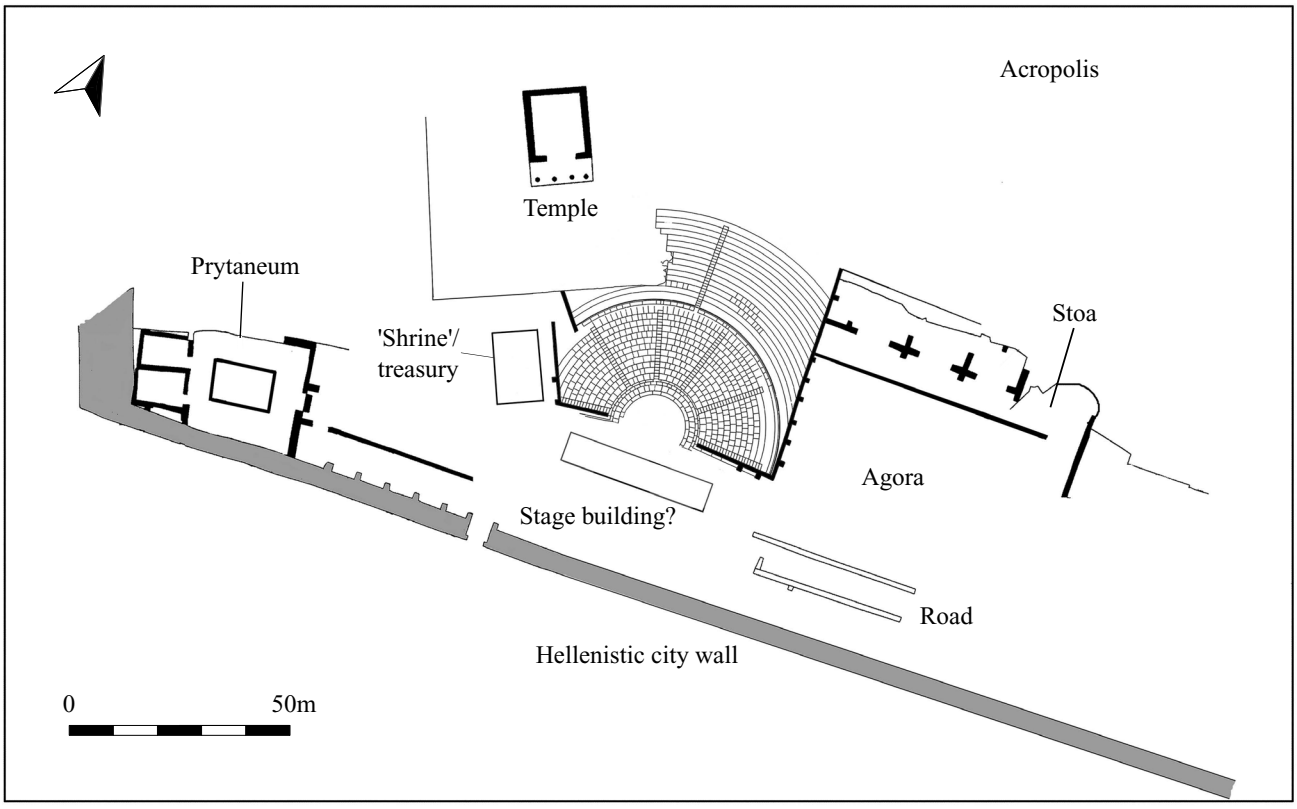

Fig. 2.8 Plan of the theatre area in the Hellenistic period (BF)

in sanctuaries of Asclepius, and underline the dedication of the complex to the cult of the god. The tradition of publishing manumission decrees is attested by epigraphical evidence from Asclepieia of continental Greece, such as Naupaktos, Orchomenos, Thespiae, Cheronea, Gonnoi and Trichonion, but the closest example seems to be that of Epidauros, where the documents are inscribed, as at Butrint, on the seats of the stadium.[28] In addition, the priests of Asclepius performed a public function at Butrint and since manumission procedures normally implied a number of expenses, if not the proper sale of the *soma* to the god, it is likely that their activity produced a real income for the sanctuary.[29] It is therefore tempting to propose that the wealth, derived from manumissions over the 60 year period covered in the inscriptions of the *parodoi*, was kept in the 'shrine' or treasury, and that the formula chosen for the dedication of the theatre ("from the sacred money of the god") was in itself an explanation for the unusual combination of the two buildings.[30] Such a reconstruction might also explain the treatment later reserved for the 'shrine'/ treasury: in the Roman period when the income of the sanctuary ceased to be determined by a public function, the small building must have lost its importance and instead became a sort of deposit of votive objects belonging to the god.

Looking for the sanctuary of Asclepius

The 'shrine' and the theatre are closely associated with one another and both are dedicated to Asclepius. Since they were inserted into an articulated complex of buildings enjoying reciprocal functional and physical relations would it be possible to propose an interpretation of the whole theatre area as a sanctuary of Asclepius?

As noted above, the eastern extension of the *cavea* was limited by the presence of an earlier structure, partly removed or buried when the retaining wall was constructed.[31] The surviving remains – consisting of four piers in rusticated ashlar, originally linked by corbelled arches – suggest that the building was a portico, extending *c.* 45 m east of the theatre (Fig. 2.8). Immediately outside of the eastern wall of the building, it is still possible to see the well built above a spring in the rock of the acropolis hill (Fig. 2.9). Its location at the same level as the portico suggests that Guri Pani is correct in proposing that the whole complex was related to the cult of Asclepius.[32] A water source not only constitutes an indispensable feature in sanctuaries of Asclepius, but its association with a portico, which has the function of *abaton*, is one of the most common.[33] Porticoes used as the *abaton* or *enkoimeterion* for the sacred sleep preceding the intervention of the healing god, are well

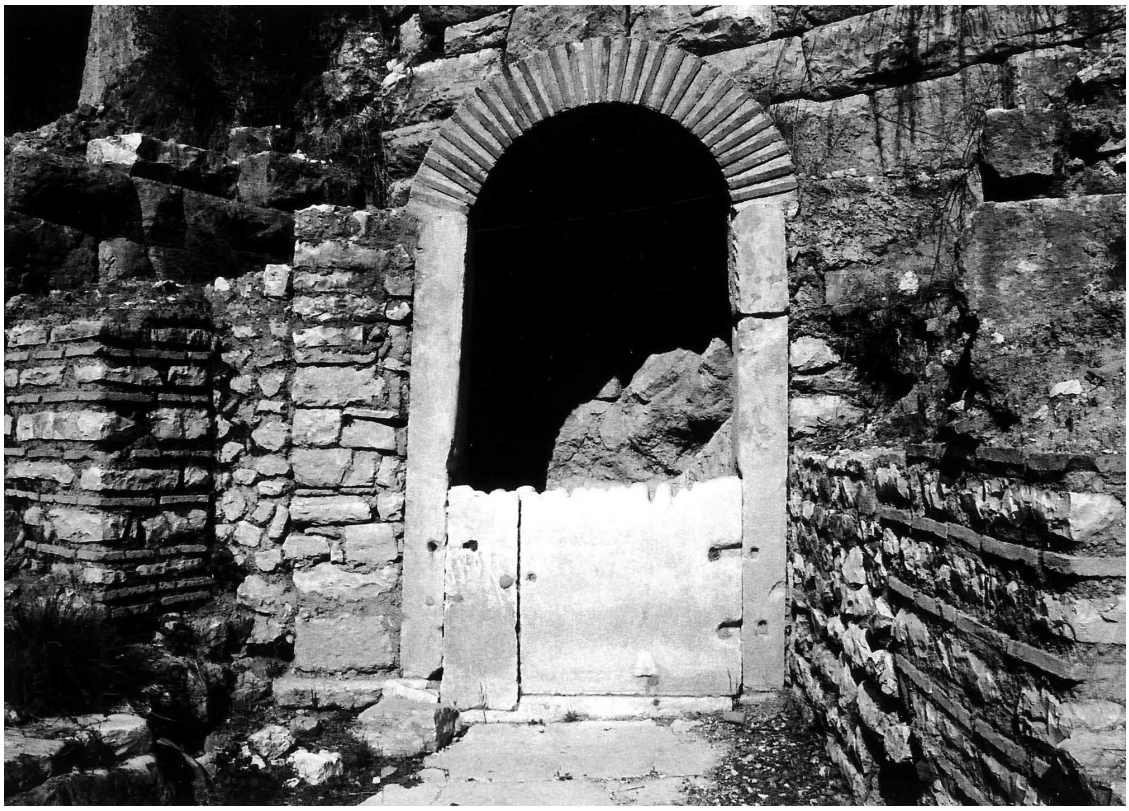

Fig. 2.9 The well cut into the acropolis hill (BF)

known from other excavated sites, such as the *stoai–abata* of the Asclepieia of Epidauros, Gortys *sanctuaire du haut*, Athens and Corinth.[34] Particularly striking are the topographical similarities between Butrint and the Asclepieion in Athens, where, too, the sanctuary is situated in an urban location against the rock of the southern slope of the Acropolis hill (Fig. 2.10).[35] Likewise, the Doric stoa, interpreted as an *abaton*, the water source inside it and the nearby theatre of Dionysus, all recall the building relationships examined at Butrint.[36]

It is worth also considering the peristyle building, on the east side of the *cavea* as part of the theatre complex, at least in its Roman phase (Figs. 2.1 and 2.11). It consists of a series of rooms arranged around a central court; the surviving remains are entirely built in Roman masonry, but they may have had an earlier phase judging from the reuse of ashlar blocks similar to those employed in the portico.[37] A flight of stairs on the western side of the peristyle seems to intersect with the level of the *diazoma* and provides a privileged passage between the two structures.[38] The peristyle building's connection to the theatre (and possibly to the upper portico), as well as the lack of an entrance facing the main access route to the monumental complex, suggest that it ought not to be interpreted as a domestic dwelling, despite its typology.[39] Buildings with the appearance of large houses in such contexts are normally interpreted as hostels or dwellings for priests, officers or attendants of the cult. They are particularly common in sanctuaries of Asclepius, and similarities can be found in the monumental *katagogion* in Epidauros, and the peristyle buildings of the Asclepieia of Delos and Alipheira in Arcadia.[40]

One further building connected with the theatre complex remains to be examined: the temple located on the rock platform overlooking the *cavea*, *c.* 15 m above the level of the 'shrine'/treasury (Figs. 2.1 and 2.12). The temple, situated on a stepped platform and still preserving part of the back wall built against the rock has been described as resembling in plan the shrine of Zeus at Dodona.[41] Ugolini believed that it was built during the classical or early Hellenistic period, and continued in use during the Roman period, when a floor of polychrome mosaics was added. After an initial attempt at interpreting the building as dedicated to the cult of Dionysus, on the simple basis of its relation with the theatre, Ugolini preferred the attribution to a poliadic Aphrodite, favoured because of her connection with the myth of Aeneas. The

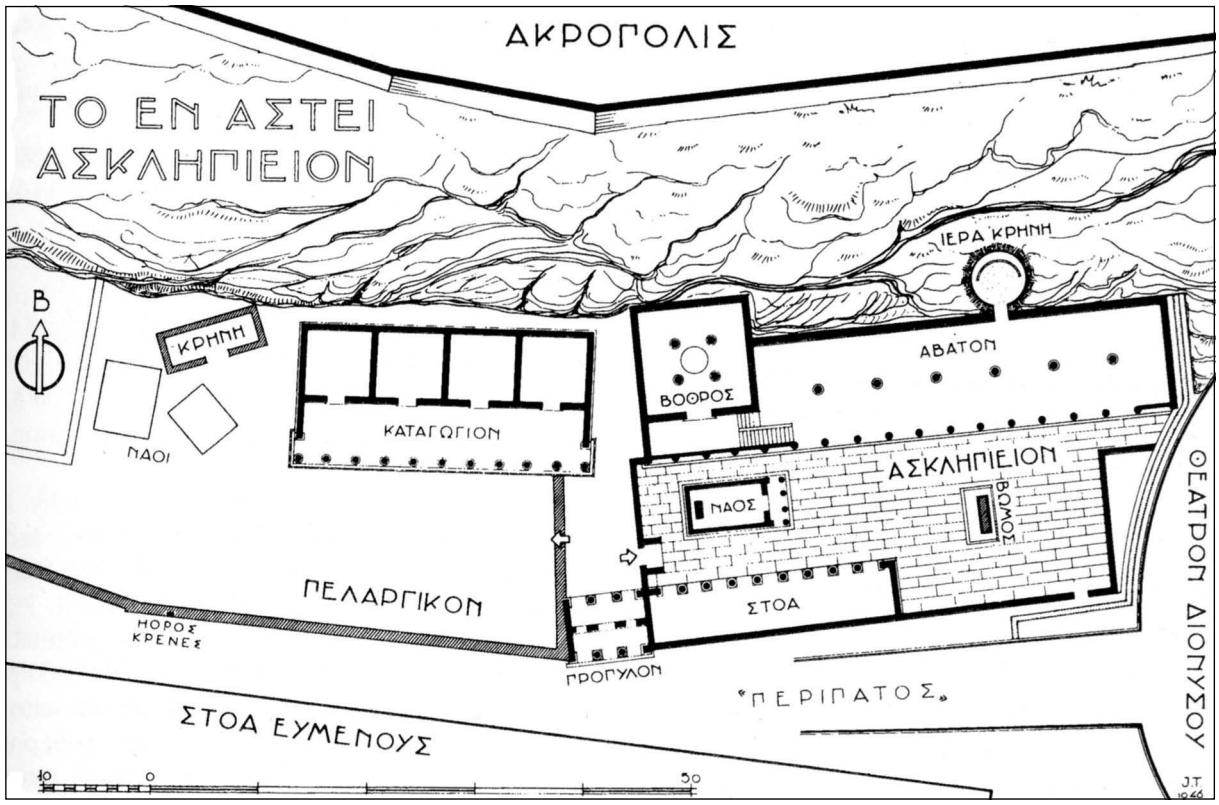

Fig. 2.10 Plan of the Asclepieion in Athens (from Travlos 1971)

Fig. 2.11 The peristyle building (BF)

Fig. 2.12 The temple above the theatre (BF)

temple, coherent with the 'shrine'/treasury in orientation and in its building technique of square blocks of limestone, belongs to the earliest arrangement of the area, which preceded the construction of the theatre.[42] In fact, the retaining wall, bordering and defining the platform on which the temple was built, limited the development of the upper *cavea* on the north–west.[43] The prominence of this building suggests that it held a particular importance within the theatre complex, and it is tempting to propose that this, too, was dedicated to the healing god. Moreover, the fact that the temple appears to be more easily accessible from the theatre and portico area than from any other direction, strongly suggests its connection with the buildings explicitly related to the cult. This is supported by the discovery of a range of epigraphical materials similar to those found in the area of the 'shrine': a proxeny decree for a citizen of Corcyra and a fragmentary inscription containing the word *charisterion*, a formula frequently occurring in the dedications to Asclepius from the votive deposit.[44]

In conclusion, the theatre complex seems to contain all the elements necessary for the cult and which are normally attested at sanctuaries of Asclepius in Greece.[45] These include: a healing (or supposedly healing) spring; a portico directly linked to this, in which the incubation in the name of the god could have taken place; a *thesauros*, built to collect the precious gifts and donations to the god; a multi-functional peristyle building, providing shelter for the relatives accompanying the sick or for the priests, *neokoroi* or other cult attendants required to spend the night at the sanctuary; and a prominent temple suitably isolated from the secular buildings. The most remarkable feature of the whole complex remains the theatre, which seems to be one of the earliest buildings to be consecrated to the name of Asclepius and to be built with the sacred money of the god. A connection between the cult and theatrical performances is attested elsewhere from the Hellenistic period: in Athens, for example, during the *proagon* of the Dionysia a sacrifice to Asclepius was prescribed, and priests of Asclepius were honoured in public decrees for the help given to the *epistatai* in charge of the theatre of Dionysus.[46] In the Asclepieion of Lebena, in Crete, the theatrical area was used for a sacred *choros* in the names of the god and the Nymphs.[47] Examples of theatres built within sanctuaries of Asclepius and used for the festivals of the god, can be found at Epidauros, Messene and Pergamon, while smaller theatrical areas are attested in Lebena, Lissos and Balagrae.[48] In Butrint, the buildings, like the sanctuary itself, may have changed their role and function from the Hellenistic to the Roman period; new constructions may have been added to the complex, like the bath-house south of the theatre, while other elements, like the treasury, progressively lost their importance. It is nevertheless evident that the site never ceased to be regarded as a cult place dedicated to Asclepius and a major attraction for the area.

Notes for a reconstruction of the history of the sanctuary

The earliest documents of cult activity on the site are represented by some of the finds of the votive deposit and might be dated to the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century BC.[49] They consist mostly of drinking vessels and ritual objects, indicating a well-established cult activity on the site. In this period the first buildings of the sanctuary were constructed: on the upper terrace, the portico connected to the spring, and the temple overlooking the sacred area; on a lower level, the 'shrine'/ treasury and possibly an open-air area dedicated to preliminary rites, normally consisting in offerings of goods and money to the god (Fig. 2.8).[50] If the peristyle building had a Hellenistic predecessor it is likely that it would have been connected to the upper portico through a flight of steps, providing accommodation for the pilgrims before they got in contact with the healing water in the portico itself. The natural slope of the acropolis hill between the portico and the treasury might have provided an area suited to theatrical functions, possibly presided over by the temple even at this early stage.[51]

After the middle of the 3rd century BC, possibly coinciding with Butrint becoming the centre of the *koinon* of the Praesebes, the cult of Asclepius must have passed under the control of the state.[52] This is demonstrated by the fact that the theatre is built under the jurisdiction of a *prostates*, the Asclepieion becomes a privileged place for the exhibition of public documents and the priest of the god is mentioned as one of the eponymous magistrates, civil and religious, of the *koinon*.[53] In particular, the political involvement of the cult place and its priests in the life of the state points towards the identification of the god as a poliadic one, in a fashion similar to that, for example, of the Messenian Asclepius.[54] In this period, the theatre complex was accessed from the east via a major roadway, passing immediately south of the Hellenistic stage building (if any such building existed), and from the south via an entrance in the city wall near the 'shrine' (Fig. 2.8).[55] Despite of the increasing political involvement, traditional cult activities continued to be performed in the sanctuary, as evidenced by the number of dedications of votive objects and inscriptions.[56] The multi-level location of the site was probably exploited for the double vocation of the sanctuary: while the lower, most easily accessible level played a public role, the upper level, with the temple and the portico–water source complex, was devoted to ritual and healing practices.

In the Roman period the Asclepieion complex underwent major changes (Fig. 2.1). The construction of a Roman-style stage building considerably restricted the access to the sanctuary from the east and the extension of the western part of the *cavea* underlined the loss of status of the treasury. The changes suggest that the public function of both the sacred complex and the priesthood was considerably reduced. Such a development did not

necessarily imply a reduction in the number of people, who frequented the sanctuary, but a restriction of access to those intending to take part in the rites, festivals and celebrations related to the cult. When these structural changes took place is still uncertain. Tantalising evidence is provided by the Julio-Claudian portraits and statues found in the area around the theatre, and, according to Ugolini, originally decorating the *scaenae frons*.[57] However, since various aspects suggest that the statues were gathered only later in front of the *scaenae* building, rather than falling from it niches, their relationship with the theatre is still unclear.[58] In other words, the Roman reconstruction of the sanctuary of Asclepius at Butrint may be independent from the erection of the early imperial group of statues.

The sanctuary of Asclepius was known to and possibly frequented by Romans from quite an early stage if it is true that the presence of Italian *mercatores* on the site can be traced back to 231 BC, and that Hellenised Roman names appear in the 2nd-century BC manumissions.[59] Further, the latest inscription from the theatre is datable to the middle of the 1st century BC, that is to say at the threshold of the foundation of the colony.[60] Even after the settlement of the colonists the sanctuary must have retained its importance, since the symbol of Asklepios, the snake-staff, appears in one of the first monetary issues of the Caesarian colony (cf. Fig. 6.9).[61] If the political changes put an end to the practice of exhibiting official documents in the sanctuary, they would not affect the religious life of the cult place; rather, from the foundation of 44 BC onwards the sanctuary probably enjoyed a smooth transition from having a politico-religious role to an entirely religious one.

The early development of the colony was undoubtedly strongly determined by the patronage of exceptionally influential Romans related to each another and to the Imperial household, such as T. Pomponius Atticus, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Germanicus and possibly Agrippa.[62] They seem to have favoured the colony of Butrint either directly or through their local representatives, who often bore their names and were indebted to them for benefactions and links of *clientela*.[63] This is the case of Pomponius Graecinus, responsible as *duovir*, together with the colleague Milesius, for minting coins bearing on the reverse the staff of Asklepios.[64] Milesius – given the rarity of the name and the contemporary date – may possibly be related to M. Antonius Milesius, who was responsible for the restoration of the Asclepieion in the Roman colony of Corinth.[65] The continuity of the cult in Corinth, where the sanctuary of Asclepius was the first cult place to be restored after a century of desertion following the destruction of the town, is comparable to the situation in Butrint.[66]

Similarly Cn. Domitius Eros, whose name is recorded in a monumental inscription, apparently set with letters in lead, on the floor-slabs in front of the so-called *prytaneum* (Fig. 2.13).[67] The slabs appear to have been reused for the restoration of the paved area, taking place at the time of the enlargement of the theatre. Hence the inscription and the building to which it related may predate the construction of the Roman *scaena*. Though the inscription is displaced it is not unlikely that it originally related to the *prytaneum* (Figs. 2.1, 2.8, 2.13). Given that the dedication of Eros, freedman of the family of a *patronus coloniae*, and the dedication of the Augustan sculptural group were roughly contemporary, it is tempting to speculate if the *prytaneum* building was the locus for the dedication of the imperial portraits. The position of the building and its inscription, at the end of the main road through the sanctuary (at least before the construction of the Roman *scaena*), was particularly prominent, and its large opening in the front would have allowed one to view the interior arrangement from the outside. For an imperial statuary group to be exhibited within an established cult place would not have been in any way unusual. In Roman Greece parallels can be found

Fig. 2.13 Remains of the inscription to Cn. Domitius Eros in front of the prytaneum *(M. Melfi)*

in the sanctuaries of the Metroon in Olympia, the Asclepieion in Messene, the sanctuary of Poseidon in Tenos and that of Theagenes in Thasos.[68] At Olympia, Tenos and Eretria, as may have been the case at Butrint, earlier cult buildings gained a new function within the sacred complexes by being reused for the dedications in honour of the Emperors.[69] This is not surprising considering that in the East the incorporation of the emperor and his family within the pre-existing local *pantheon*, and his association with other deities, was far more common than the displacement of traditional cults.[70] Further, the dedication of the imperial group in the most important cult-place in town would have granted the donor maximum visibility. In the particular case of Eros, he might have wanted to underline the kinship that linked the Ahenobarbi family, his patrons, with Augustus and possibly other members of the imperial household. The Ahenobarbi are well known for erecting dynastic monuments within sanctuaries in the Greek provinces; such may be the case of the Claudian group (possibly including the young Nero) exhibited in the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite in Tenos.[71] It is therefore evident that in the Augustan period the Asclepieion became one of the primary centres for private patronage at Butrint, shifting the focus of the sanctuary from the public institutions of the cult to using the sacred area as a stage on which to display the euergetistic accomplishments of the local elites and city's loyalty to Rome.

The final remodelling of the theatre and the restoration of the other buildings of the Asclepieion would, in my mind, fit within a more general phenomenon affecting the sanctuaries of Asclepius from the second quarter of the 2nd century AD.[72] In this period important renovation programmes took place in many of the known sanctuaries. Following the model of the Asclepieion of Pergamon, additional buildings such as bath complexes, theatres and libraries were realized in the sanctuaries of Epidauros, Cos and Lebena, mainly thanks to the intervention of private individuals.[73] This development corresponded, on the one hand, to the increasing need to provide facilities and entertainment for the long-term residing sick; on the other hand, to new characteristics of the cult. The theatres, in particular, played an essential role for the cult practice since the use of singing *paeana*, and possibly of performing sacred acts, became widespread.[74] This phenomenon is attested at Epidauros by the hymns inscribed on the walls of the so-called *odeum*, where they may have been performed.[75] In Rome, the *sanationes* inscriptions reveal that the patients declared their healing to an audience while standing, as the texts say, on a *hieron bema* – a sacred stage.[76] In Athens, the presence of a catalogue of *paianistai* and a number of 2nd and 3rd century AD *paeana* (such as those of Sarapion-Sophokles and Diophantes from Sphettos), suggest that sacred performances possibly took place in the theatre of Dionysus.[77] Finally at Pergamon, Aelius Aristides reports the existence of a "sacred theatre" for choirs and enactments in honour of the god.[78] We do not know if the same happened at Butrint, but these trends would explain the enlargement of the theatre at the expense of other buildings and, at the same time, its closure towards the outside, since Asclepieia in the 2nd century AD appear to be frequented mainly by elites of intellectuals, and are characterised by an inflexible ritualism.[79] A similar phenomenon is attested at Pergamon, where the "sacred theatre" is included in the strict geometry of the *Festplatz*, and only accessible from a portico, and at Epidaurus, where a new *odeum* is inserted within the oldest cult buildings, despite the existence of an easily accessible theatre outside the sacred area. At Butrint, an attempt to reproduce this Pergamenian model may also be represented by the construction of the large bath-house south of the sanctuary, possibly contemporaneous to the *scaena* and similar to it in building technique and orientation.[80]

Certainly, a number of dedicatory inscriptions and sculptural fragments, not the least a portrait bust bearing a resemblance to Antinous found in the *prytaneum*, provide evidence for a vivid interest in the area during the mid-Imperial period and recall the relation of 2nd-century Asclepieia with the educated elites (Fig. 5.8).[81] An association between Antinous and Asclepius is not unique. In one case – a sculpture found in the sanctuary at Eleusis – Antinous is represented in the guise of a young Asclepius.[82] Such an iconographical choice appears to be the direct reflection of Hadrian's religious choices: the emperor was one of the few foreigners to be initiated to the Eleusinian cult, an honour shared *in primis* with his predecessor Asclepius.[83] By virtue of his affinity with the god, Hadrian associated himself with the worship of Zeus–Asclepius in Pergamon and promoted a non-traditional syncretic cult with the collaboration of the educated members of his entourage.[84] If the presence of a bust of Antinous is enough to insert the Asclepieion of Butrint into the religious interests of emperor Hadrian and into the conception of the *pantheon* promoted by his friends and relatives is difficult to say; though the strong affinities Butrint share with contemporary historical and religious developments of Imperial Greece are evident. It also shows that the sanctuary of Butrint – despite its long and well-known excavation history – still has much to offer modern scholarship.

Notes

1 I would like to thank Richard Hodges for inviting me to Butrint and for allowing me to study the material and Oliver Gilkes for guiding me through the site and sharing with me his knowledge of the archive material from the Italian excavations.
2 Ugolini 1937: 58, 152–53; 1942: 91–108.
3 Ugolini 1942: 94–95.
4 The inscriptions reused in the bench are published in Ugolini 1942: 115–8.
5 Ugolini 1942: 125–46.
6 One life-size statue and many smaller fragments were found

in the 'shrine', cf. Ugolini 1942: 108–13. For the dedications, the *trapeza* and the altar of Philistus, see Ugolini 1942: 92–93, 96–97, 118–24.

7 For the phases of the building, see Ugolini 1942: 100–8.

8 The relationship between the theatre and the 'shrine' will be discussed in more detail below. See also Wilkes 2003: 145–50 for a commentary on the structural relationships between these.

9 For the usage and typology of *thesauroi*, see Kaminski 1991: 63–111. The interpretation of this particular object as a *thesauros* has already been suggested in Gorrini and Melfi 2002: 262–63.

10 The example from Butrint belongs to the main type of *blockförmige Steinthesauroi* identified by Kaminski (1991: 148–55).

11 For the presence of *thesauroi* in sanctuaries dedicated to Asclepius and other healing deities, see Gorrini and Melfi 2002: 258–65; Melfi 2000: 300–12.

12 See Kaminski 1991: 149, 167; Melfi 2000: 281–314; and Gorrini and Melfi 2002: 258–62, with a summary of the bibliography.

13 Ugolini 1942: 95–96.

14 Roebuck 1951: 28–29.

15 Couch 1929, passim; Roux 1984: 154–59.

16 Robert 1952: 69 and 105–7; Roux 1981: 57–58.

17 Wilkes 2003: 166.

18 Wilkes 2003: 166–67.

19 Wilkes 2003: 119, 133–38. Ugolini (1937: 123–25) defined the stoa as "una costruzione di epoca greca" possibly a "portico definito da pilastri"; see also Baçe and Ceka 1981: 36–39; and Pani 1999: 17–20.

20 Wilkes 2003: 166.

21 The precise date of the manumission inscriptions is still in doubt, but it is generally believed that they are to be dated post–232 BC; for the *status questionis*, see Cabanes 1974: 107–15; 1982: 178–79. The inscriptions were originally studied by Morricone, but only published posthumously (Morricone 1986), and are still mainly known from the works by Bozhori and Budina (1966) and Cabanes (1974). The inscriptions of the *parodos* seem to contain the lists of the manumissions performed in the course of the year, while the *diazoma* documents contain whole manumission decrees. Several other inscriptions of the same type, mostly found reused in a late-antique tower, have been published in the last few years and seem to belong mostly to the *diazoma* type of documents (Cabanes 1982: 148–49; 1998: 32–37). Guarducci (1952: 55–56) believed the dedicatory inscription to be later than 232 BC, while Morricone (1986: 173–74) and Cabanes (1974: 109–10) do not exclude an earlier date. The inscription is re-published in Gilkes 2003: 89.

22 Wilkes 2003: 150–58.

23 Wilkes 2003: 145–50

24 Morricone 1986: 173–74; Ugolini 2003: 89.

25 The same opinion is expressed by Cabanes (1974: 109) and Morricone (1986: 173–74).

26 At least two *stelae* recording manumissions were found by Ugolini inside the 'shrine'; for details see Morricone 1986: 353–54; Ugolini 1942: 115–17.

27 A priest of Asclepius with the name Philistos is named in inscription VI of the *parodos*; cf. Cabanes 1974: 124–25; Morricone 1986: 206–9. The note by Morricone reconstructs a possible dedicatory inscription of the Hellenistic 'shrine', which preserves the name of a *hiereus* Aristomachos. The same person may be attested in one of the *parodos* inscriptions (Cabanes 1974: 160–61; Morricone 1986: 298–99). The unpublished note is presently kept in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome (Inv. Ug 119 a–b); my thanks to Oliver Gilkes for drawing my attention to it.

28 For the inscription from Epidauros, see *IG* IV^2 354–70; Peek 1969: no. 153. Naupaktos: *IG* IX^2, 1, 612–23 and 631–40. Orchomenos: De Ridder 1895: nos. 1–3; Darmezin 1999: nos. 118–19. Thespiae: *IG* VII, 1779–80; Darmezin 1999: nos. 136–39. Cheronea: Roesch 1982: 157, nos. 1–2; Darmezin 1999: nos. 103–8. Gonnoi: Helly 1973: vol. II, nos. 114–15. The inscriptions from the recent excavations at Trichonion are being prepared for publication by Maria Stavropoulou (Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Patras), whom I would like to thank for allowing me to visit the site and for discussing its archaeology with me.

29 No mention of payments has been found at Butrint; however, the practice is well attested in the Hellenistic period; see Cabanes 1974: 197 (cf. also 194) and Darmezin 1999: 233–39.

30 Cabanes (1974: 112) and Morricone (1986: 392–99) originally proposed 30 year time-span; though, now it appears that the 60 known priests of Asclepius must correspond to an analogous number of years; cf. Cabanes 1998: 24.

31 See above note 19. I prefer to define the structure a portico rather than a stoa.

32 Pani 1999: 17–21, where, for the first time, the interpretation of the whole complex as "enkoimesis abaton" for the performance of incubation is suggested.

33 Armpis 1998: 168–69. For an overview concerning the role of water in healing sanctuaries, see Ginouvès 1994.

34 Epidauros: *OESME* 1988: passim. Gortys: Martin and Metzger 1941; 1976: 72–76; Jost 1985: 203–5. Athens: Allen and Caskey 1911; Martin and Metzger 1949; Townsend 1982: 44–87. Corinth: Roebuck 1951: 57–64.

35 Travlos 1971: 227–42.

36 Both sites are also associated with a continuity of sacral activity in the construction of Christian churches over the earlier structures (at Butrint, at a floor-level approximately 4 m above the ancient ground-level); see Ceka 1999: 43 and Travlos 1941: 34–68.

37 Ugolini 1937: 158; 2003: 103 and Wilkes 2003: 164. Ugolini originally identified these structures as a serie of *tabernae*.

38 Wilkes 2003: 164.

39 Cf. Martin 2004.

40 Epidaurus: Kraynak 1991. Delos: Robert 1952: 52–64; Bruneau 1970: 159–360. Alipheira: Orlandos 1968: 199–202.

41 Ugolini 1937: 122–3; Wilkes 2003: 166.

42 Martin 2004.

43 Wilkes 2003: 167.

44 For the votive inscription found in the temple, see Ugolini 1937: 123, fig. 72; the same *charisterion* (or *eucharisterion*) formula occurs in at least three inscriptions from the 'shrine' cf. Ugolini 1942: 121–23. Also the proxeny decree mentioned in Ugolini 1937: 123, seems to be similar to that found near the 'shrine' (Ugolini 1942: 206).

45 For a general overview on the buildings attested in sanctuaries of Asclepius see Armpis 1998.
46 *IG* II^2 354 (328/7 BC). According to Aeschines *Orationes* 3.66–68, the 8th day of the month Elaphebolion was dedicated to a sacrifice in honour of Asclepius.
47 Kritzas 1993: 282–90.
48 For the most recent contribution on the parallels between the theatre of Butrint and those of other Asclepieia, see Sear 2003: 192–93 (with further bibliography).
49 A certain amount of information can be gained from the pottery finds published by Ugolini (1942: 131–43); for instance, shapes, such as that of the cup of Nikadas, are comparable to wares of the late 4th/early 3rd century BC from Athens; cf. Rotroff 1997: 94–95.
50 A good illustration of the rites preceding access to the buildings devoted to healing practises is provided by the *lex sacra* of Pergamon, prescribing the quantity of money and food to be given to the god before entering the *enkoimeterion*; cf. Gorrini and Melfi 2002: 258–62; Habicht 1969: 167–90, n. 161.
51 The area could even have accommodated a small theatre, as suggested by Sear (2003: 182).
52 The passage from monarchy to the *koinon* of the Epirotes is dated to 232 BC (Cabanes 1982: 177–79).
53 Normally, in the complete decrees from the *diazoma* of the theatre, the priest is mentioned with the *strategos* and the *prostates*; Morricone 1986: 314–50. On the state organisation of Butrint in the Hellenistic period, see Cabanes 1982 and 1998. Cabanes (1982: 159–60) has suggested that only members of the most prominent families of the *koinon* served as respectively *strategoi*, *prostatai* and priests of Asclepius. It is worth noting that in Athens, for example, the priesthood of Asclepius may have been allotted together with the other civic magistracies; Aleshire 1989: 75–85.
54 The cult of Asclepius in Messene focused primarily on the politic role of the god, as founder and patron of the *polis*; Themelis 1999: 58–63; Torelli 1998: 473–81.
55 The defence of the southern entrance was reinforced during the Hellenistic period, and the gateway seems to have continued in use through the Roman period; Ceka 1999: 38; Martin 2004.
56 The majority of the votive materials from the *favissa* seem to date from the Hellenistic to the Roman period; from elsewhere, inscriptions containing the usual formulas of thanksgiving, such as εὐχήν εὐχαριστήριον, have been found; Ugolini 1942: 121–46.
57 Ugolini 1942: 137; 2003: 199–213. For a reconstruction of the position of the statues as proposed by Ugolini, see Gilkes 2003: figs. 6.78–6.79.
58 Gilkes 2003: 177–8; Ugolini 2003: 206–11.
59 Cabanes 1976: 399–402.
60 Drini and Budina 1981; Wilkes 2003: 175.
61 Burnett, Armandry and Ripollès 1992: 276, no. 1379.
62 On the patronage in Butrint in general, see Pollo 1989: 129–32. On the interests of Atticus in Butrint: Deniaux 1975: 283–96; 1987: 245–54 and 1998: 40–2. On the early interests of the Ahenobarbi in the Adriatic area: Deniaux 1999: 249–54. On the honours attributed to Germanicus: Deniaux 1998: 45–6 and in this volume. At least two statues of Agrippa were found on the site (Wilkes 2003: 169 and Hansen in this volume).
63 For example, the epigraphical evidence demonstrates that a number of locals became Roman citizens through the intervention of Atticus (Deniaux 1987: 253–4; 1998: 44–5).
64 Burnett, Armandry and Ripollès 1992: 277, no. 1387.
65 Roebuck 1951: 39, pl. 11; Kent 1966: 123, n. 311.
66 The Asclepieion of Corinth was restored a few years after the foundation of the colony (Roebuck 1951: 38–39). In Corinth the only other Greek cult place in use also during the Roman period was the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, which was restored in the last quarter of the 1st cent AD (Bookidis and Stroud 1997: 276 and 434–35).
67 Deniaux 1999: 249–50; and in this volume (note 18). Deniaux considers Cn. Domitius Eros to be a freedman of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus; though, I would not exclude a later date, even connected with the younger Cn. Domitius.
68 For Olympia, see Hitzl 1991. The existence of a *Kaisareion* in the Asclepieion of Messene is epigraphically attested; Themelis 1991: 102–7. For Tenos, see Mavroiannis 1994: 328–37; and for Thasos, see Gros 1991: 130–33.
69 For Eretria, see Schmid 2001: 136–37.
70 Beard, North and Price 1998: 318.
71 Mavroiannis 1994: 328–46.
72 Melfi forthcoming. A 2nd-century date is proposed also by Ceka (2001: 186), and would conform to similar changes at nearby Byllis and, later, at Phoenicê, see De Maria in this volume.
73 For the 2nd-century AD phases of the Asclepieion at Pergamon, see Ziegenhaus and De Luca 1975: passim; Radt 1988: 250–71. At the Asclepieion of Epidauros a number of buildings were added, including a bath-house and an *odeum*, under the patronage of Iulius Antoninus Pythodorus; Galli 2001: 46–52. The last phase of the Asclepieion of Cos corresponds to the construction of the bath-house and the temple C; cf. Herzog and Schatzmann 1932: 42–45 and 72–74. The reconstruction of the Asclepieion at Lebena may be dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and was sponsored by a local benefactor connected to the imperial household; Melfi forthcoming.
74 Galli 2001: 52–56.
75 *IG* IV^2, 129–135; *SEG* XXX, 390. The musical nature of the texts of the hymns is analysed in Bonefas 1989; the reconstruction of their original position as part of the *odeum* was originally proposed by Wagman (1995: 35). Aelius Aristides is believed to have composed a hymn for himself to be sung in the Asclepieion at Pergamon (see also Bowie 1989: 216).
76 *IGUR* I, 148, and more recently Girone 1998: 157–68.
77 The *paianistai* of the Athenian Asclepieion: *SEG* XXVIII, 225; Aleshire 1991: 33–40. For the paeana of Sarapion-Sophokles and Diophantes, see Aleshire 1991: 49–50, with bibliography, and *IG* II^2 4514. The latter text appears to be conceived to be performed and dramatised, to judge from the different metres used, Girone 1998: 31–35, with bibliography.
78 Aelius Aristides *Oratio* 48.30.
79 Galli 2001: 44–52; Melfi forthcoming.
80 Ceka 1999: 41–42. For the last stage of exploitation of the healing water in sanctuaries of Asclepius through the construction of bath-houses see Ginouvès 1994: 243–46.
81 Ugolini 1942: 123–24; Korkuti *et al.* 1971: n. 115 and Pojani in this volume.

82 Galli 2001: 65–67.
83 Graindor 1934: 8 and n. 2–3; Calandra 1996: 106.
84 Le Glay 1976: 366–68.

References

IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGUR *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*
OESME *Omada Ergasias gia tin Syntirisi ton Mnemion tou Asklepieiou. 1988. Η στοά του αβάτου στο Ασκληπιείου του Επιδαύρο – Athens.*
SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

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3 La structure politique de la colonie romaine de Buthrotum

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L'époque de la dictature de César et celle du triumvirat furent des moments privilégiés pour la réalisation de vastes projets de fondations coloniales. Ces créations volontaires du pouvoir romain sont les éléments d'une politique dont les enjeux s'élargissent à l'empire. Dès le IVe siècle av. J-C, les colonies romaines sont des cités – Etat qui contrôlent un territoire sous l'autorité de Rome. L'établissement des colonies dépend d'une décision du peuple romain, d'une loi votée par le peuple, précédée par un senatus consulte. Une commission de trois hommes a le pouvoir de délimiter le territoire sur lequel doit s'établir la colonie, d'intervenir dans la planification qui précède toute opération coloniale, d'organiser les opérations d'arpentage et de division des terres en centuries, ainsi que l'octroi des institutions à la nouvelle cité et du soin de veiller au recrutement de ses premiers magistrats. La colonisation césarienne et triumvirale est un des phénomènes majeurs de la fin du premier siècle av. J-C. par l'ampleur de ses effets politiques, économiques et sociaux. César avait d'abord prévu que des civils soient associés aux distributions de terres et que les expropriations nécessaires à l'installation des colons soient faites sur des terres de l'*ager publicus*. Mais l'installation des anciens soldats démobilisés était devenu une des préoccupations les plus importantes de la République finissante. En mars 44, les soldats qui s'assemblaient sur les places de la ville de Rome en attendant leur affectation dans une colonie constituaient un groupe de pression si important qu'un des premiers senatus consultes votés après l'assassinat de César à l'instigation du consul Antoine, confirma les distributions de terres décidées par César.[1] L'étude de la localisation des projets césariens réalisés permet de montrer la cohérence de ceux-ci concernant le contrôle des grands axes de communication ainsi que le respect d'impératifs stratégiques et économiques.[2]

César voulut ainsi fonder une colonie à Buthrote, ville située sur la côte épirote, en face de l'île de Corcyre. Nous pouvons constater que, dans un texte de la Guerre Civile quand il est fait allusion à un déplacement de César avec une légion à Buthrote, la localisation de la cité en face de Corcyre est précisée: *Caesar erat ad Buthrotum, oppositum Corcyrae*.[3] Il est vrai que Buthrote fut la résidence d'Andromaque, et que les héros de l'Enéide y font étape; mais il est vraisemblable que le choix de l'implantation d'une colonie à Buthrote était liée aussi à la proximité de Corcyre.[4] L'île de Corcyre, la plus septentrionale des îles ioniennes, proche du canal d'Otrante, possède une position privilégiée sur la route maritime qui relie l'Orient à l'Occident. Sa situation dans l'espace méditerranéen explique son importance politique. Corcyre était devenue un des pivots de la diplomatie internationale lorsque les Romains intervinrent dans l'espace adriatique. Après avoir, en 229, subi les assauts des pirates illyriens, elle s'était remise à la *fides* des Romains qui utilisèrent son site et ses ports pour l'exécution de leurs expéditions militaires, terrestres et navales contre le royaume de Macédoine. Corcyre fut un véritable centre de coordination des informations et de la transmission des ordres pour les opérations militaires dans ce secteur. Pompée y fixa son commandement naval de l'Adriatique. Pour lutter contre César, il mit M. Calpurnius Bibulus à la tête de l'importante flotte qui garantissait la liberté de circulation dans l'Adriatique avec Corcyre comme lieu de concentration de ses forces navales. Lui-même choisit *Dyrrachium* comme place-forte et quartier général de ses troupes terrestres. Après la défaite de Pompée à Pharsale, les troupes et les flottes des partisans de Pompée s'y concentrèrent. Le choix de fonder une colonie à Buthrote, en face de Corcyre, est certainement liée à des visées géostratégiques.[5]

La cause immédiate de la fondation de la colonie est liée à la volonté de César de punir les habitants de Buthrote en prenant une partie de leurs terres afin de les distribuer à des colons à cause d'une taxe restée impayée. L'imposition d'une taxe et la confiscation de terres pour l'installation de colonies étaient des sanctions que César

imposait aux cités qui s'étaient mal conduites à son égard. Les raisons de cette taxation demeurent inconnue; mais il est vrai que l'Epire a longtemps été une terre victime des armées des guerres civiles et que les populations locales avaient été largement sollicitées pour fournir de l'argent, des denrées alimentaires, du logement pour les troupes de passage. Une notation de César signale que celui-ci laissa une légion sur son territoire, mais rien ne suggère que les Buthrotiens aient mal reçu celle-ci.[6]

Nous ne nous attarderons pas ici sur le dossier de la fondation de la colonie, dossier complexe car, pour s'opposer à la fondation d'une colonie sur le site de Buthrote, le protecteur de la cité, Atticus, mit en œuvre des moyens financiers considérables et utilisa les bonnes relations qu'entretenait son ami Cicéron avec les hommes alors au pouvoir à Rome. La présence d'Atticus en Epire remontait à l'année 68 av. J-C.[7] Ce chevalier romain appartenait à l'élite des propriétaires fonciers, ceux qui tiraient profit d'un élevage spéculatif pratiqué sur une grande échelle.[8] Il était aussi le financier de la ville puisqu'il proposa à César d'avancer à la ville l'argent de la taxation césarienne pour éviter que le ville ne reçoive un établissement de colons.[9] Atticus fit ensuite agir, par l'intermédiaire de Cicéron, un vate réseau d'influence pour transformer la décision césarienne et obtenir que les colons s'installent ailleurs. Il semble qu'une première tentative de fondation échoua.[10] L'histoire de la numismatique de Buthrote évoque d'ailleurs une fondation césarienne ainsi qu'une refondation augustéenne.[11] L'introduction d'un peuplement colonial, aussi bien d'origine civile que militaire, imposait une rupture profonde. Nous ignorons, faute de sources suffisantes, comment la communauté héritée du *koinon* des Prasaboi a pu co-exister avec les nouveaux habitants et comment les indigènes ont pu s'intégrer au nouveau cadre civique dans un nouveau paysage urbain.[12]

Il est intéressant cependant de constater que l'épigraphie nous informe sur l'organisation territoriale de la colonie de Buthrote et que celle-ci imite la structure du modèle urbain romain. Deux inscriptions de Buthrote mentionnent l'existence de *magistri* de *vici*. La division de la ville de Rome en quartiers, les *vici*, contrôlés par des *magistri* qui veillaient à l'organisation des fêtes religieuses est antérieure à Auguste, mais nous savons qu'en 7 av. J-C, une nouvelle structuration de l'espace urbain romain fut associée à un culte officiellement dédié à Auguste et que les *Lares Augusti* se surimposèrent aux Lares attachés aux *vici*. Une dédicace aux Lares d'un *vicus* a été faite à Buthrote par un *magister* appelé Aulus Granius.[13] L'absence du qualificatif "Auguste" pour ces Lares plaiderait pour une date précoce, antérieure à la fondation à Rome du culte des *Lares Augusti*. Ce même A. Granius, *magister* d'un *vicus*, est connu par une autre inscription qui porte une dédicace à Stata Mater, divinité qui avait une statue au Forum romain et qui jouissait d'une grande faveur populaire car elle était liée à Volcanus et à la lutte contre les incendies.[14] Dans la colonie orientale la plus proche de Rome, ces inscriptions montrent une articulation de l'espace urbain proche de celle de Rome et l'existence de cultes civiques semblables à ceux de Rome.

Nous savons qu'une colonie de citoyens est une petite Rome. Le cadre de la ville dans laquelle ces citoyens exercent leurs activités politiques, leurs cultes, leurs loisirs, est semblable au modèle romain. Leur législation tend à reproduire la législation romaine. Nous n'avons pas conservé la loi constitutive de la colonie qui définissait les compétences des magistrats de la colonie, l'exercice de leur juridiction, leurs attributions, mais nous savons qu'il en existait une, comme celle qui fut octroyée à la même époque à la colonie d'Osuna, Urso, à l'initiative de César, qui définissait aussi la composition du sénat local (le conseil des décurions), ainsi que le choix par celui-ci d'un patron, protecteur et intermédiaire auprès du pouvoir romain.[15] Une inscription récemment publiée, fait mention d'un décret des décurions de Buthrote, en faveur d'un patron de la colonie de l'époque augustéenne.[16]

L [DO]MITIO CN F AHENOB
PONTIF COS
D D PATRON COLONEI

Le décret des décurions honore L. Domitius Ahenobarbus qui fut consul en 16 av. J.-C. Le texte fut gravé entre 16 et 12 av. J.-C., date à laquelle Domitius devint proconsul d'Afrique. La fille de Marc Antoine, Antonia maior, avait épousé L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, dont le fils, Cnaeus, épousa Agrippine la seconde (cf. Fig. 4.1). Le père de L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cnaeus, qui devint consul en 32, avait commandé en 42–40 av. J-C une flotte dans d'Adriatique et avait sans doute noué des relations de clientèle avec les cités côtières qui l'avaient aidé. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus contrôla une grande partie de la mer ionienne à cette époque. La localisation géographique de Buthrote sur la grande voie maritime qui longe la côte en face de l'île de Corcyre est à l'origine du patronage des Domitii qui remonte vraisemblablement à l'époque des guerres civiles. Les risques de fragmentation de l'empire de Rome étaient alors très grands. C'est par la paix de Brindes, en 40, que fut ramenée la sécurité des communications entre Rome et la Méditerranée orientale. Il fallut alors qu'Antoine obtienne le ralliement de Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus qui avait exercé un commandement autonome dans la mer Egée et dans la mer ionienne dans le contexte de la lutte des assassins de César en 42, puis de la lutte entre Antoine et Octave. Le commencement des initiatives militaires de Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus se situe en 42, le jour même de la bataille de Philippes, qui vit la défaite des Césaricides. Un engagement naval dans l'Adriatique avait amené, ce jour-là, la victoire des forces de Brutus et de Cassius, commandées par Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. C'est à la suite de cette grande victoire navale que Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, prit le titre *d'imperator*, qui apparaît sur ses monnaies. Il resta seul à exercer un commandement

autonome dans la mer Egée et dans la mer ionienne que les circonstances favorisaient.[17] Domitius garda la maîtrise de la mer et la surveillance des ports d'arrivée en Italie, tout particulièrement de Brindes, pendant deux longues années, de 42 à 40, alors que Sextus Pompée, installé en Sicile, dominait la mer tyrrhénienne et contrôlait le détroit de Messine et les points d'accès à la côte occidentale. Afin d'être libre de son action pour conclure un nouveau partage du monde, Antoine lui proposa un gouvernement de province en Orient, ainsi que la perspective d'accéder au consulat en 32, et promit sa fille aînée en mariage avec le fils de Cnaeus, Lucius. L'histoire des liens entre les Domitii et Buthrote est aussi marquée par la présence dans cette cité d'un Cnaeus Domitius Eros. Une autre inscription encore inédite mentionnant un Domitius a été trouvée à Buthrote, au centre de la ville, à un endroit proche du temple d'Asclepios (Fig. 2.13). Des dalles d'un sol en réemploi portent des traces d'inscription qui sont des lettres gravées remplies de plomb. Le nom de l'individu mentionné ainsi est celui d'un évergète, dont nous ne connaissons pas la fonction, qui fit un don important dans le centre monumental de la cité. Son nom est Cnaeus Domitius Eros, affranchi de Domitius.[18] La présence des noms de deux membres de cette illustre famille à Buthrote renforce l'hypothèse de liens noués avec les Domitii Ahenobarbi lors de cette période des guerres civiles.

Les magistratures de la colonie de Buthrote sont semblables à celles des autres colonies romaines. A Buthrote, comme dans les cités coloniales, les magistratures sont annuelles et collégiales. Les pouvoirs les plus élevés sont ceux des duumvirs. Tous les cinq ans, les duumvirs quinquennaux ont dans leurs obligations celles de faire le recensement de leurs concitoyens, le *census* qui sert de base à l'établissement de l'assiette de l'impôt. Une inscription fragmentaire de Buthrote mentionne deux duumvirs quinquennaux.[19] A Buthrote, plusieurs duumvirs sont attestés comme responsables de frappes monétaires, sous l'autorité du Sénat.[20] La fonction de *duumvir quinquennal* étant la fonction la plus élevée, elle peut être confiée à un personnage important pour l'honorer. C'est ainsi que la charge de *duumvir quinquennal* fut offerte à Germanicus, fils de Drusus et d'Antonia minor, la seconde fille d'Antoine. Une inscription, permet d'apprendre que Germanicus fut choisi comme *duumvir quinquennal* de Buthrote avant la mort d'Auguste.[21] C. Julius Strabo devint en effet préfet à sa place:

GERMANICO IULIO TI F
AUGUSTI N CAESARI
COS
C IULIUS C F STRABO PRAEFECT
QUINQUEN EIUS

Un C. Iulius *duovir* a aussi frappé des monnaies à Buthrote à l'époque d'Auguste ou de Tibère. Nous ne pouvons savoir s'il s'agit du même personnage car le prénom et le nom de C. Iulius devaient être largement répandus dans une colonie fondée par une décision de César, mais le rapprochement de ces deux individus est possible.[22] Germanicus Julius, fils adoptif de Tibère, petit-fils d'Auguste, César, devint *duovir quinquennal* de Buthrote entre 12 et 13 ap. J.-C. Auguste est encore vivant, Germanicus exerce le consulat, charge qu'il reçut en 12, mais il n'est pas encore salué du titre d'*imperator* qui lui fut pourtant donné en 12. Il est intéressant de rappeler, dans cette étude des protections qui s'exerçèrent sur la ville de Buthrote, que Germanicus, adopté par Tibère en 4 ap. J.-C., épousa la fille d'Agrippa, Agrippine. Agrippa, l'artisan de la victoire d'Actium, est honoré par la reconnaissance officielle des habitants de Buthrote. Une des plus remarquables statues d'époque augustéenne retrouvées à Buthrote près du théâtre est un portrait d'Agrippa (Fig. 4.5).[23]

Le préfet Caius Iulius Strabo, fils de Caius, qui remplaça Germanicus dans la fonction qui lui avait été octroyée, porte un prénom et un nom célèbres, ainsi qu'un *cognomen* latin. Peut-être est-il un descendant de colon. Un autre préfet avec un *nomen* célèbre apparaît aussi au nombre des membres de l'élite de la colonie. Un Q. Caecilius [--]ibius est, en effet, mentionné comme *praefectus iure dicundo* dans une inscription récemment publiée de Buthrote.[24]

L(UCIO) TURRANIO, L(UCII) L(IBERTO),
ATTALO, MA[G(ISTRO)]
P(UBLIO) DASTIDIO, P(UBLII) F(ILIO),
OUF(ENTINA TRIBU), RUFO, PR[AEFECTO)]
Q(UINTO) CAECILIO, L(UCII) N(EPOTI),
[SOS]IBIO, PRAEF(ECTO) I(URE) D(ICUNDO),
L(UCIO) LICINIO, L(UCII) L(IBERTO),
PHILOTECNO, LAPIDARIO
M(ANIO) OTACILIO, M(ANII) L(IBERTO),
EUM[EN]O, LIBRAR[IO]
C(AIO) PLAETORIO, C(AII) L(IBERTO),
PHIL[IPP]O, SCALPT[O]R(E)
A(ULO) GRANIO, [S]CRIBA, [COLLA]TIONE
[PLEB]IS

Le personnage ainsi désigné porte peut-être le *cognomen* de Sosibius. Notre connaissance des éléments constitutifs du cadre civique, du personnel municipal, est enrichie par l'étude d'un document fragmentaire qui semble se rattacher à une période précoce de l'histoire de la colonie. Le personnage officiel, qui porte le prénom et le nom d'Atticus lorsque celui-ci fut adopté par son oncle Q. Caecilius, a malheureusement un *cognomen* incomplet, car l'inscription est lacunaire. Cette inscription est singulière. Elle présente, en effet, une succession inhabituelle de deux préfets dont l'un est appelé *praefectus iure dicundo*. L'existence de préfets ainsi que la possibilité de faire appel à ceux-ci dans des circonstances particulières est mentionnée dans les lois municipales qui ont été conservées dans la péninsule ibérique. En l'absence de référence à la loi coloniale de

Buthrote, il est possible de comparer les règlements édictés pour d'autres cités, en particulier la loi de la colonie d'Urso qui fut une fondation césarienne (*lex colonia Genetiva*). La loi d'Urso fait parfois référence aux préfets associés aux duovirs (*duumvir praefectusve*) mais ne s'intéresse pas aux modalités de leur nomination.[25] L'autre *praefectus* s'appelle Publius Dastidius Rufus. Le titre de *praefectus* seul, employé pour désigner le premier citoyen romain mentionné dans l'inscription, est beaucoup moins répandu que le titre de *praefectus iure dicundo*.[26] Il existe parfois un titre de *praefectus coloniae*; sur ce titre qui apparaît rarement en Gaule, on s'est beaucoup interrogé.[27] L'absence de définition de la fonction dans l'inscription albanaise pose problème. Les deux préfets doivent appartenir à des catégories différentes de *praefecti*. La loi de Salpensa, dont le texte a été repris dans la loi d'Irni, consacrait, au Ier siècle ap. J-C, deux rubriques à deux sortes de préfets dont l'étude a été reprise récemment par J. Gascou.[28] L'absence d'un *duumvir* pour une journée, si l'autre est déjà absent, nécessite la nomination d'un préfet, par le *duumvir* lui-même.[29] La durée de sa fonction est courte. Lorsqu'une cité décide de conférer le duumvirat à l'empereur pour l'honorer.[30] L'empereur a le droit de désigner un *praefectus iure dicundo* qui exerce sans collègue les fonctions de *duumvir* que l'empereur aurait dû exercer. Il existe aussi d' autres catégories de préfets. Lors de circonstances exceptionnelles, pour faire face à une crise, un *praefectus iure dicundo* est désigné alors que les duumvirs sont en fonction. Si, à la suite d'autres motifs, les duumvirs sont empêchés d'accomplir leurs fonctions ensemble, deux *praefecti iure dicundo* sont désignés par le sénat local pour exercer le pouvoir jusqu'à la tenue de nouvelles élections. Une loi romaine de la fin de la République, la *lex Petronia*, le prévoyait. Les deux *praefecti* de l'inscription de Buthrote sont des citoyens romains. Q. Caecilius semble avoir la fonction la plus importante de la liste des individus dont le nom est inscrit sur cette pierre. Il est *praefectus iure dicundo*. Or il porte le prénom et le nom d'Atticus. Ce personnage n'indique pas le prénom de son père, mais seulement celui de son grand-père Lucius. Il est dit *Luci nepos*. A-t-il voulu intentionellement supprimer sa filiation et se rattacher à son grand-père, rappellant ainsi sa parenté d'une manière sélective? Il semble évident que Q. Caecilius a voulu insister tout particulièrement sur l'ancienneté de son statut de citoyen en remontant à deux générations et que le lapicide aurait, pour une raison quelconque, oublié de graver le prénom de son père. Il n'est pas indifférent que ce soit quelqu'un dont le nom porte témoignage du patronage d'Atticus, car il s'agit d'un membre de l'élite locale indigène intégré dans le corps privilégié des citoyens romains grâce à la faveur d'Atticus. Cette revendication d'une citoyenneté romaine ancienne pourrait vouloir démontrer que le grand-père de ce notable était devenu citoyen avant même que des colons citoyens ne s'installent sur le site de Buthrote.

Toute colonie dispose d'un personnel administratif dont les fonctions sont permanentes par opposition aux magistratures qui sont annuelles et collégiales. A Buthrote, apparaissent sur la nouvelle inscription des fonctions municipales: un *scriba*, un *librarius*, un *lapidarius*, un *scalptor*. La loi d'Urso énonce d'une manière précise les noms des membres du personnel administratif ainsi que ceux qui protègent les magistrats, les licteurs, et s'attache même à leur remuneration.[31] Les duumvirs et les édiles sont ainsi accompagnés de plusieurs individus qui les secondent. Les scribes, secrétaires, et les *librarii*, copistes et archivistes, font partie de cette catégorie. Les *librarii* entrent dans la catégorie des auxiliaires spécialisés dans des tâches d'écriture, alors que les *scribae*, hiérarchiquement supérieurs, ont un rôle dans la rédaction des actes officiels qui implique une connaissance des formules et des procédures ainsi qu'une mission de contrôle.[32] Le *lapidarius* et le s*calptor* entrent dans la série des métiers au service de la colonie. Ils ne sont pas directement affectés à des magistrats, et ne sont pas cités dans la loi d'Urso, mais ils exercent leurs fonctions dans le cadre de la cité. Le livre de Ivan di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista* évoque les métiers de taille de la pierre et de gravure.[33] Le mot *lapidarius* est, avec celui de *marmorarius*, le plus fréquemment employé dans l'antiquité. Ces activités professionnelles sont mentionnées à une époque plus tardive dans l'Edit du Maximum de Dioclétien, avec l'indication de leur rémunération évoque une rémunération de 50 deniers pour le *lapidarius structor* alors que le *marmorarius* reçoit 60 deniers.[34] Celui qui travaille la pierre est accompagné de l'homme qui la grave, l'incise ou la sculpte. Les deux noms de *scriptor* et de *sculptor* sont parfois associés ou bien même *scriptor* et *scalptor*.[35] Toutes ces fonctions sont accomplies, dans l'inscription que nous avons étudiée, par des affranchis, à l'exception de celle de scribe, exécutée par un citoyen romain, qui porte le même nom que le *magister* du *vicus*, A. Granius.[36]

En terminant cet exposé sur les institutions de Buthrote, colonie romaine, nous voudrions mettre l'accent sur la relative richesse de l'épigraphie coloniale de cette cité. Les inscriptions latines de Buthrote permettent de connaître les principaux éléments constituant le cadre politique de la cité créée par Rome, ainsi la vie de la collectivité civique, avec des particularités, telles que l'existence de plusieurs préfets. C'est aussi l'épigraphie qui met en évidence différentes fonctions subalternes de l'administration municipale, avec les noms des titulaires de ces différentes fonctions. La colonie dispose d'une structure politique qui dépend du modèle romain. La volonté de rationaliser l'urbanisme, conformément à celui-ci, caractérise une colonie, comme celle d'organiser sa vie publique, ses loisirs, sa vie privée en foction d'un même modèle. Mais la mise en place d'une colonie doit aussi tenir compte des possibilités locales, des individus qui la font vivre dans le cadre défini

par une loi. Les noms des membres de l'élite locale occupant les différentes fonctions sont riches d'intérêt pour l'étude de la société coloniale. Le statut des individus, citoyens et affranchis, l'origine géographique des colons, les relations des habitants avec des Romains ayant eu des activités dans la région de Buthrote au moment des Guerres Civiles, la promotion des élites indigènes sont des questions importantes pour l'histoire de la colonie. La prosopographie permet de faire émerger une société coloniale originale, où la place des affranchis semble importante, où les liens de clientèle avec les Romains qui ont des intérêts dans la région sont multiples.[37] L'histoire de Buthrote romaine est marquée par l'influence d'un homme, T. Pomponius Atticus, devenu Q. Caecilius par adoption, qui tenta d'empêcher la fondation d'une colonie sur le site de Buthrote. Il continua ensuite à en protéger les habitants et à favoriser leur intégration au sein de la nouvelle collectivité civique. Le nombre des individus citoyens romains portant son nom est remarquable, particulièrement au sein des membres de l'élite locale. En transmettant son nom à ses descendants, ceux-ci manifestaient leur reconnaissance à l'égard de leur protecteur proche du pouvoir romain.[38] Nous savons qu'Atticus était lié familialement à Agrippa, l'artisan de la victoire d'Actium, qui avait épousé sa fille en premières noces. Acquis à Octave, il avait su protéger la ville dans laquelle il avait des intérêts à l'époque du triumvirat. L'épigraphie montre aussi que l'histoire politique de la colonie de Buthrote romaine est, grâce aux patronages qui s'exercent à l'époque augustéenne, proche du centre du pouvoir romain.

Notes

1 Cf. Appien, *Guerres civiles* 2.135.

2 Sur la colonisation césarienne, cf. Salmon 1969; Vittinghoff 1951; Keppie 1983. Cf. aussi Deniaux 1993: 352–67 ("Les recommandations de Cicéron et la colonisation").

3 César, *Bellum Civiles* 3.16. Cf. aussi la phrase de Cicéron qui compare la situation de Buthrote (et de la villa d'Atticus) par rapport à Corcyre à celle d'Antium (et de la villa de Cicéron qui s'y trouve) par rapport à la ville de Rome: *hoc scito Antium Buthrotum esse Romae, ut Corcyra illud tuu*m, Cicéron *Lettres à Atticus* 4.8.

4 Cf. Virgile, *Enéide* 3.5.292–93.

5 Cf. Deniaux 2005 et Deniaux à paraître (a).

6 Cf. César, *Bellum Civiles* 3,16: *Caesar eo tempore cum legione una profectus ad recipiendas ulteriores civitates et rem frumentariam expediendam, qua anguste utebatur, erat ad Buthrotum, oppositum Corcyrae*.

7 Cf. Cicéron, *Lettres à Atticus* 1.5.7 et 2.6.2.

8 Varron le classe dans le petit groupe des propriétaires fonciers d'Epire, les *Synepirotae*, qui interviennent dans le dialogue du livre 2 des *Res Rusticae*, spécialement dans la partie qui traite de l'élévage des bovins. Sur les riches Romains qui pratiquaient l'élevage en Epire, cf. Hatzfeld 1919: 64. Sur l'élevage d'Atticus, cf. Pasquinucci 1985.

9 Sur la taxe restée impayée que proposa de régler Atticus, cf. Cicéron, *Lettres à Atticus* 16.16a, 3 (lettre à L. Plotius Plancus). Cf. Deniaux 1987. La proposition d'Atticus n'était pas exceptionnelle. Les riches Romains installés sur place étaient souvent les créanciers des cités dans lesquelles ils faisaient des affaires. Il est possible d'évoquer à ce propos l'histoire de la famille des Cloatii qui, à Gythéion en 71 av. J-C, étaient créanciers de la ville mais savaient aussi utiliser leur influence pour détourner les magistrats romains d'imposer aux habitants des réquiqitions trop lourde, cf. *IG* V.1.1146.

10 Pour prévenir la spoliation des habitants de Buthrote, Atticus sollicite ses amis. Aux demandes pressantes d'Atticus, que nous n'avons pas conservées, répondent les lettres de Cicéron, qui enferment d'autres lettres, copies des recommandations que Cicéron envoyait pour son ami. Cicéron, qui décrit avec précision ses propres démarches, procède par allusion dans les demandes formulées dans les lettres de recommandation, ce qui ne rend pas la compréhension des éléments du dossier facile, cf. Deniaux 1975. Cicéron tenta d'agir en s'adressant à César, aux consuls en exercice après la mort de César, au responsable de la fondation coloniale, L. Plotius Plancus et à ceux qui l'accompagnaient. Six lettres de recommandation, regroupées dans les *Lettres à Atticus* 16.16, ont été écrites par lui en juillet 44 pour tenter de modifier l'implantation coloniale.

11 Une monnaie de la cité, portant au droit une tête de Cérès voilée et couronnée d'épis, porte les lettres C.I.B. (*Colonia Iulia Buthrotum*). D'autres, plus récentes, sont frappées au nom d'Auguste. Sur la description des monnaies coloniales de Buthrote, cf. Gardthausen 1891: 187; Grant 1946: 269; Imhoof-Blumer 1883: 138–40; Pollo 1993; Ugolini 1942: 233.

12 Sur Buthrote dans l'Epire hellénistique, cf. Cabanes 1976. Sur le *koinon* des Prasaboi, cf. aussi Cabanes 1999; Drini 1987.

13 A GRANIUS / MAG VICI / LAR VIC SACR. Il s'agit d'une inscription inédite qui sera publiée dans le Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie, cf. Anamali et Ceka, à paraître.

14 [A GR]ANIUS MAG VICI / STATAE MATRI SAC. Cette dédicace est gravée sur une des faces d'une base de pierre dont l'autre face porte une dédicace en grec à Lyciscos, fils de Lycos, cf. Cabanes 1986a: 151. Stata Mater disposait, selon Festus 426.25 L., d'une statue au Forum romain, mais ce culte fut transféré dans les quartiers, *vici*, à la fin de la République, afin que les pierres du nouveau pavage établi par Cotta ne fussent pas altérées par les feux que l'on allumait la nuit en son honneur. Sur le culte de Vulcain, cf. Capdeville 1995. Deux inscriptions de Rome associent Stata Mater à Vulcain, *CIL* VI 801 (= *ILS* 3305) et *CIL* VI 802 (= *ILS* 3306). Nous connaissons une inscription de la colonie de Patras, dans laquelle un duumvir offre un monument à Stata Mater, *CIL* III 500; cf. Deniaux 1998.

15 Sur la loi d'Urso, cf. Crawford 1996: 393–447.

16 *AE* 1985.771, n° 5; inscription vue par Franke 1983: 26 et publiée par Freis 1985: 224–6 et Cabanes 1986a: 151. Cf. aussi Cabanes 1986b: 124.

17 Appien, *Guerres civiles* 4.15.115. Sur Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, cf. Deniaux 1999. Sur les monnaies de Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, cf. Crawford 1987: 527 n° 519 et tab. 62.

18 CN. DOMITIUS CN. L. EROS. Cette inscription inédite relevée par Sk. Anamali sera publiée dans le Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie, Anamali et Ceka, à paraître; cf. Fig. 2.13.
19 Il s'agit d'une inscription publiée par de Franciscis 1941: 275–90, n° 6; puis dans *AE* 1950.169.
20 Sur les monnaies de Buthrote, cf. Gardthausen 1891: 187 et Imhoof-Blumer 1883: 138–40; Ugolini 1942: 233.
21 Inscription publiée par G. Pollo (1989), puis dans *AE* 1989.642 et *AE* 1990.872.
22 D'après Ugolini 1942: 233, une monnaie d'Auguste associe deux duumvirs, un T. Pomponius et un C. Iulius.
23 Sur les patronages qui s'exerçent sur Buthrote, cf. Pollo 1989.
24 Deniaux 2004. Il avait été d'abord possible de penser à [Al]bius jusqu'à ce qu'un nouvel examen de la pierre et de l'estampage laisse apparaître un [---]ibius. Cf. aussi Deniaux à paraître (b) et à paraître (c).
25 Cf. *FIRA*: n° 21 (par exemple, ch. 93, 94, 96) et Crawford 1996: n° 25.
26 Sur les *praefecti*, la bibliographie est considérable, cf. *RE* 22.2, 1313–23 (Ensslin); Gascou 1990; Liebenam 1967: 261–3; Rossignano 1991.
27 Cf. *RE* 22.2, 1303 (Ensslin), et spécialement *CIL* XIII 1577 (= *ILS* 7042). Sur les *praefecti* de Gaule, cf. la synthèse de Dondin-Payre 1999: 127–30. Le titre de *praefectus* seul se rencontre parfois, cf. par ex. à Narbonne, qui est aussi une colonie, *CIL* XII 4410.
28 Gascou 1990. Cf. *FIRA*: n° 23, ch. 24 et 25; sur la loi d'Irni récemment publiée, cf. Gonzalez 1986: 153–81; *AE* 1986 n° 333.
29 *FIRA*: n° 23, ch. 25.
30 *FIRA*: n° 23, ch. 24.
31 Cf. Crawford 1996: n° 25, ch. 62.
32 Sur les *apparitores* romains, cf. Mommsen 1889–96, tome 1: 397–407; Purcell 1983: 154–60.
33 di Stefano Manzella 1987: 52–4.
34 Cf. l'édition de Giacchero 1974: rubriques 7.2 et 7.5.
35 Cf. une stèle funéraire romaine, qui fait vraisemblablement référence au même personnage appelé *lapidarius* et *scalptor*, *CIL* VI, 33908 et 33909 (= *ILS* 7675 et 7675a); l'inscription *CIL* VI 2105 (Actes des Frères Arvales) mentionne à la fois la *scriptura* et la *scalptura* sur le marbre.
36 Sur A. Granius, *magister* d'un *vicus*, cf. *supra* note 13.
37 Cf. Deniaux 2004. Sur les Romains et les Italiens installés dans le monde grec, et l'intérêt des recherches prosopographiques à leur sujet, cf. Müller et Hasenohr 2002.
38 Sur les Pomponii et les Caecilii de Buthrote, cf. Deniaux 1987: 253–4.

Références

AE *L'Année Êpigraphique*
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinum*
IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*
ILS Dessau, H. (ed.) (1892–1919) *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin, Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
FIRA Riccobono, S. *et al.* (edd) (1941) *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani* tome. 1, *Leges*. Florence, S. A. G. Barbèra.
RE Wissowa, G. (ed.) (1894–) *Paulys Real-encyclopädie der classische Altertumswissenschaft. Stuttgart*. J.B. Metzlerscher Verlag.

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Appendix
A Dedication to Minerva Augusta from Butrint

John R. Patterson

[.]INERVAE·
[vac.] AVGVST SACR
M'·OTACILIUS·MYSTES·
ET·AEDEM·D·S·P·F·C·
[vac.] L·D·D·D· [vac.]

The inscription is carved on a slab of local limestone broken into five fragments (Fig. 3.1).[1] Roughly finished on the top and the two sides, the slab has a somewhat smoother finish on the bottom and on the face of the stone. The rear of the inscription is extremely unfinished and uneven, containing sizeable marble inclusions. There are however some chisel marks to the rear of the bottom right hand corner of fragment 1. At the top right hand corner, on top of the inscription, is an attachment or dowel hole, measuring 5 × 2 cm. On one side of this hole are two tiny imbedded iron fragments. In addition to the triangular incisions marking word-divisions, and recorded in the transcription above, there are smaller marks between individual letters. The final D in line 5 is followed by a mark in the shape of a 'J' or hook, at an angle of 45 degrees to the vertical. In line 3, the letters which follow 'OTAC' are on a slightly different alignment to those in the earlier part of the line, and the C itself does not appear to be finished properly.

Overall measurements of the slab:

87 × 125.5 × 8 cm. The fragments have the following dimensions: fragment 1 (top right): 40 × 85 cm; fragment 2 (middle): 46 × 57 cm; fragment 3 (bottom right): 53 × 125.5 cm; fragment 4 (bottom left): 61 × 27 cm; fragment 5 (top left): 18 × 18 cm.

Height of letters:

Line 1: 13 cm; line 2: 7.5 cm; line 3: 7 cm (the Y in MYSTES is 11 cm in height); line 4: 7 cm; line 5: 7 cm.

Location:

Butrint Museum. Fragments 1–4 were discovered during excavations in the 1980s, within the Tripartite Building located against the foot of the acropolis hill at one end of the Roman Forum (cf. Fig. 5.10). These appear to have been found in room 2, face down in a late antique floor, used as spolia. Fragment 5 (Butrint 2005, SF 0096, Forum context 88) was also found in room 2 of the Tripartite Building.

Reconstruction of text:

[M]INERVAE
AUGUST(AE) SACR(UM)
M(ANIUS) OTACILIUS MYSTES
ET AEDEM D(E) S(UA) P(ECUNIA)
F(ACIENDAM) C(URAVIT)
L(OCUS) D(ATUS) D(ECRETO) D(ECURIONUM)

Translation:

Sacred to Minerva Augusta: this statue (?) and shrine were set up by Manius Otacilius Mystes at his own expense on land voted to him by decree of the the city councillors. Date: early first century AD?

The stone (8 cm in thickness) appears to have been attached to a substantial monument forming the base for a statue of the goddess Minerva, though no word explicitly alluding to such a statue appears in the text. It was set up by Manius Otacilius Mystes, who built a shrine at the same time, presumably to house the statue of the goddess. This in all probability formed part of the building in which the fragments of the inscription were found. The size of the slab and the large scale of the inscription may suggest the alternative hypothesis that the dedication refers to the shrine itself, but this would make the 'et ' in line 4 mysterious, unless something has mistakenly been missed out of the text.

The term *aedes* was frequently used as an alternative to *aedicula* in provincial and municipal contexts to denote a small cult-building.[2] Parallels for the setting up of a statue and a shrine together include *CIL* III 633 (= *ILS*

5466) from Philippi, where one Domitius Primigenius erected a bronze statue of Silvanus *cum aede*, and *CIL* III 534 from Corinth, which similarly records the construction of an *aedes* and a statue of Apollo Augustus, together with ten *tabernae*. Otacilius Mystes used his own funds, but the project received the approval of the council of the city, which provided a suitable site. Such approval was necessary for the construction of a public, as opposed to a private shrine: compare, for example, *CIL* V 800 from Aquileia.

The worship of Minerva as 'Minerva Augusta' was widespread across the Western provinces of the Roman Empire.[3] The precise implications of identifying a deity as 'Augustan' are not entirely clear, and the link tended to become conventional, but the association might be thought to reflect the wisdom with which (it was hoped) emperors would be endowed, and at the same time seek the protection of the divinity for the *princeps* himself.[4] Dedications to Minerva Augusta were set up at Philippi, for example, by L. Volussius Valens and his son (*CIL* III 640), and at Sarmizegetusa in Dacia, by Ulpius Domitius Hermes, *augustalis* of that city (*CIL* III 1426). Frequently these monuments were the result of a personal vow. *AE* 1950, 173, another inscription from Butrint, records a votive dedication to Mercurius Augustus, set up by C. Papirius Hermes on behalf of his sons, but although this suggests the existence of parallel 'Augustan' cults of Mercury and of Minerva in the town, the style of the dedication to Mercury is rather different from that to Minerva, and the latter text is dated to the second century AD.[5]

M'. Otacilius Mystes was (to judge by the uses of that *cognomen* at Rome), probably a freedman; this *cognomen* ('initiate') might be thought particularly appropriate for someone building a shrine.[6] M'. Otacilius M'. l. Eumenus, a freedman of the same family, who served as *librarius* at *Buthrotum*, is recorded on a recently published inscription, which dates to the early years of the colony.[7] A text transcribed at Butrint by Ciriacus of Ancona, who visited the site late in 1434, and included in *CIL* III, reads IMP. M'. OTACINIUS.[8] Mommsen suggested that the reference was to M. Iulius Philippus (emperor AD 244–9) and his wife Marcia Otacilia Severa, but in the light of these new discoveries it is perhaps more likely that a substantial lacuna should be hypothesised in Cyriacus' text between IMP and M'.,

Fig. 3.1 Inscription dedicated to Minerva Augusta (BF, photo by M. Grayley)

that OTACINIUS is a misreading of OTACILIUS, and that the inscription preserves a dedication to an emperor by a member of the Otacilius family.

The name Otacilius is of Italian origin, the Roman *gens Otacilia* coming originally from Beneventum.[9] Several Manii Otacilii are known, in particular M'. Otacilius Crassus, who was consul in 263 BC.[10] Otacilii are known from Delos, and there were several noteworthy Otacilii attested in the late Republic, who probably originated from the Ager Gallicus.[11] An Otacilius served as *legatus* in a naval operation during the Social War; an equestrian called M'. Otacilius was a member of the *consilium* of Cn. Pompeius Strabo at Asculum in 89 BC; and a further Otacilius Crassus was one of Pompey's naval commanders in the Civil War against Caesar, defending the Adriatic port of Lissus in 48 BC.[12] His Pompeian loyalties may suggest that this man was the son of the Otacilius who served with Cn. Pompeius Strabo. It is not clear to which, if any, of these Otacilii the Otacilius Mystes now attested at Butrint was connected. One possibility is that members of the family established links with the area under the late Republic, when wealthy Romans, most notably Cicero's friend Atticus, invested in estates in Epirus in order to exploit the extensive pasturage in the area, although there may also have been restrictions on ownership of such land by senators.[13] An existing connection with Epirus might have made Otacilius Crassus a particularly appropriate person to command a Pompeian force in the Adriatic. Alternatively, there may be a link with the Caesarian colony. A M'. Ota[---], probably to be restored as Ota[cilius], is recorded as having served as governor of Bithynia, probably under the triumvirs, together with a *legatus* from Paestum who was involved in organizing land allocations at the colony of Apamea.[14] It is possible that the same Otacilius may have been involved in an operation of reinforcement at Butrint around the same time.[15] Torelli argues that M'. Ota[---] should be identified with the Otacilius Crassus who served at Lissus; if so, given the brutality displayed by the Pompeian legate towards Caesar's forces – he reportedly massacred soldiers who surrendered to him, despite a pledge of safety – it seems unlikely that he would have been welcome at *Buthrotum* after the establishment of the Caesarian colony, even if he was a beneficiary of Caesar's clemency. A third possibility is that Otacilius Mystes was simply one of the colonists set to Buthrotum by Caesar, who may have included freedmen, the freedman of one of these, or of a descendent.[16] A link with the Roman elite is likely, however, given the significant numbers of freedmen of other notable Roman families to be found in the epigraphic record of the colony.[17]

The date of the inscription cannot be clearly determined, but the letter-forms, which are similar to those of *AE* 1989, 642/*AE* 1990, 892, dating to AD 12 or 13, perhaps suggest an Augustan or early first century AD date also for Mystes' benefaction.[18] The lettering looks later than that of the inscription recently published by Elizabeth Deniaux, which dates to the early years of the colony.[19] The symbol for 'Manius' in line 3 shows a fifth stroke reaching only half-way up the other strokes of the 'M'; the fifth stroke in Deniaux' inscription is the same length as the other strokes.[20] Judging from parallels at Rome, the distinctive elongated 'Y' in the third line was most likely adopted for decorative purposes or in order to save space, and does not allow a more specific dating.[21]

Notes

1 I am very grateful to Richard Hodges for the opportunity to study the inscription; to David Ray Hernandez for checking the measurements of the letters and of the stone; and to Joyce Reynolds for discussion of the text. None of these are responsible for those errors that may remain.
2 *Diz. Epig*. s.v. *aedes.*
3 For examples, see *TLL* II, 1393.
4 Beard, North and Price 1998 vol. 1: 351–2; Fishwick 1991: 446–54; Girard 1981: 217; Nock 1925: 91–3.
5 See de Franciscis 1941: 288–9 and Sestieri 1943: 13.
6 Solin 2003: 1100. For Cn. Seccius Mystes, from Aequum in Dalmatia, see *CIL* III 9777.
7 Deniaux 2004: 396, and in this volume.
8 *CIL* III 580. Hammond 1967, appendix 2.
9 Festus 174L; Schulze 1904: 131.
10 *MRR* 1. 203.
11 On Otacilii from Delos, see Ferrary, Hasenohr and Le Dinahet 2002: 207. For late Republican references to the family, see Criniti 1970: 173–6; Panciera and Finizio 1982: 669.
12 The *legatus* Otacilius: Sisenna fr. 38. M'. Otacilius serving with Cn. Pompeius Strabo: *AE* 1909, 30. The naval commander Otacilius Crassus: Caesar *Civil War* 3.28.
13 See Varro *On agriculture* 2.1.2–3, with Hatzfeld 1919: 62–4; Shatzman 1975: 400; Deniaux, in this volume. Possible restriction of senatorial ownership of land: Rawson 1976: 90–91.
14 *AE* 1975, 250. See *PIR*^{2} O. 172, with Camodeca 1982: 151; Mello and Voza 1968: 125–8; Reynolds 1971: 142; and in particular Torelli 1980–81: 105–8.
15 For the history of the colony at Butrint, see Deniaux in this volume; also Brunt 1971: 253–9.
16 For the possibility of freedmen as colonists at Buthrotum, see Brunt 1971, 252–3; Salmon 1969: 136.
17 See Deniaux 2004, and in this volume.
18 Pollo 1990.
19 Deniaux 2004 and transcript in this volume.
20 Gordon and Gordon 1957: 123–4.
21 Gordon and Gordon 1957: 205–6. For another elongated 'Y' from Butrint, see Ugolini 1942: 216–7, and fig. 223.

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CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
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ILS Dessau, H. (ed.) (1892–1919) *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin, Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

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PIR^2 Groag, E., Stein, A. and Petersen, L. (eds) (1933–) *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd edn. Berlin, De Gruyter.

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4 The Trojan Connection: Butrint and Rome

Inge Lyse Hansen

> Live and be happy, as should those whose destiny is now achieved; we are still summoned from fate to fate. Your rest is won. No seas have you to plough, nor have you to seek Ausonian fields that move forever backward. You see a copy of Xanthus and a Troy, which your own hands have built, under happier omens, I pray, and better shielded from Greeks. If ever I enter the Tiber and Tiber's neighbouring fields and look on the city walls granted to my race, hereafter of our sister cities and allied peoples, Hesperia allied to Epirus – who have the same Dardanus for ancestor and the same disastrous story – of these two we shall make one Troy in spirit. May that duty await our children's children! Virgil *Aeneid* 3.493–505[1]

These are Aeneas' parting words to Helenus, standing by the ships anchored outside the walls of Butrint, ready to set out for Italy. In Virgil's version of the story, Aeneas arrives with his family and his men to find a city not just ruled by Helenus of his own Trojan kin but built in the image of Troy itself: "a little Troy, with a copy of great Pergamus, and a dry brook that takes it name from Xanthus" and entering the city Aeneas can embrace the portals of a Scaean gate.[2] His address to Helenus is therefore not simply a personal greeting recognising the eminence of the seer, but directed to all the inhabitants of Butrint in an allusion to their shared ancestry. Indeed, as the last half of the speech makes clear, Aeneas' adieu becomes a promise of a greater kinship made to all the inhabitants of Epirus, across time and history.

When the epic was published, following Virgil's death in 19 BC, this passage must have had a particular resonance with the inhabitants of Butrint. The city could delight in being so specifically mentioned in a work close to the new ruling court at Rome, and point to its pivotal role in the very foundation-myth of that city as well as to it own distinguished background. Depending on their background, the members of the new elite established at Butrint in the later 1st century BC might have identified themselves as being those very "children's children", or might have pointed to the alliance between Hesperia and Epirus as proof of their rightful position in the city. Similarly, the nostalgic/optimistic tone of the passage, and Helenus' position as both outsider and founder, must have resonated with the process of establishing new civic identities and adapting to a new network of alliances.[3]

No written sources survive to indicate if Butrint cited its links with Troy in negotiations with Rome or other nearby cities, though it is reasonable to presume it did. However, despite the lack of overt written evidence, the iconographic repertoire fashioned at Butrint itself, for use at its new and vigorous mint, provides suggestive evidence for how the city sought to locate itself. One of the most popular images, used from the triumviral period to the reign of Nero – that is, for the entire duration of the Butrint mint – is a bull, referring to the auspicious foundation of the city by the Trojan seer Helenus.[4] The adaptability of the iconographic form of this image indicates the continued engagement with articulating the mythical origins of the city. For instance, an Augustan coin minted by one of the city's most prominent magistrates provides suggestive evidence of the use of a Trojan iconography to situate Butrint as a link between Troy and Rome (Fig. 4.2). The coin depicts on the obverse a head of a bull and the tripod of Apollo.[5] While drawing attention to its own Trojan foundation, the city manages to associate itself also with the patron deity of the new *princeps*, establish a link to Nicopolis (where the Actian victory monument was dedicated to Apollo), and implicitly align itself with the new political order post-Actium.

The following is an investigation of the references to the city's Trojan origins as articulated in the period between the mid-1st century BC and the mid-1st century AD when the mint was in function. The numismatic imagery is often subtle in nature, but backed up by public dedications, in the form of honorific dedications and portrait statues, a vigorous network of ties of allegiance and patronage between Butrint and Rome become evident. Apart from adding substance to why Butrint should have

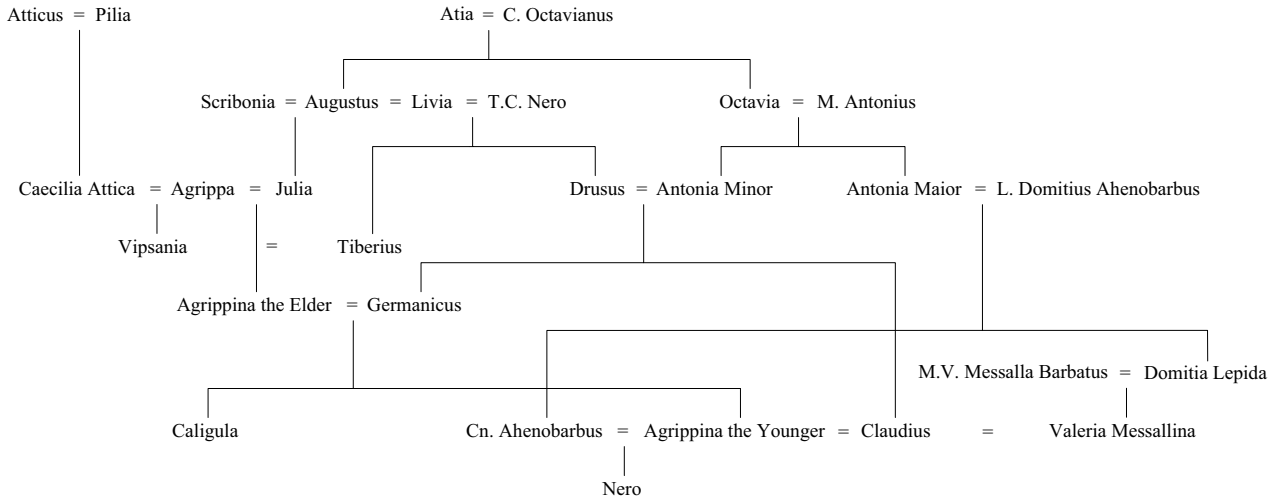
Atticus = Pilia
Atia = C. Octavianus
Scribonia = Augustus = Livia = T.C. Nero
Octavia = M. Antonius
Caecilia Attica = Agrippa = Julia
Drusus = Antonia Minor
Antonia Maior = L. Domitius Ahenobarbus
Vipsania = Tiberius
Agrippina the Elder = Germanicus
M.V. Messalla Barbatus = Domitia Lepida
Caligula
Cn. Ahenobarbus = Agrippina the Younger = Claudius = Valeria Messallina
Nero

Fig. 4.1 Select genealogy of the Julio-Claudian family (BF)

been singled out for literary and ideological attention from within the imperial circle, the material further indicates how Butrint appears to have used its Trojan links to situate itself in a regional context.

Butrint and the Trojan legend in Epirus

According to Virgil, there is both planning and surprise in Aeneas's visit to Butrint.[6] The Trojan group had set out from Actium after celebrating games and, following the coast of Epirus to the Chaonian harbour, they draw near to the "lofty" city of Butrint. The sheltered landing places along the Vivari Channel and at the southern end of Lake Butrint would have provided good anchorage before crossing the Adriatic towards Italy, and the description suggests that they were well acquainted with this fact. However, on arrival a surprise awaits them: first by rumour, then in person, they are told how Helenus, the son of Priam, rules at Butrint with Hector's widow, Andromache, as his wife. Having originally been brought to Epirus in slavery, Andromache was given in marriage to Helenus by Achilles' son, Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, while Helenus in turn received part of the territory in the will of Pyrrhus. Here he has recreated their Trojan homeland. The territory is named Chaonia after Ilian Chaon; a dry brook is called Xanthus after the river at Troy; on the acropolis of Butrint is built a Pergamus, a copy of the citadel at Troy itself; and the entire city is designed to emulate Troy – complete with a Scaean gate.[7] The *Aeneid* represents the most explicit association between Butrint and Troy. Here Butrint has become a *parva Troia*, a *simulacrum*, a little Troy deliberately made in the image of the Phrygian city.[8] However, Virgil's account is neither the only, nor the earliest, to propose a link between Butrint and Troy. Indeed, the tradition of Trojan bonds with Epirus is more diverse and multi-facetted than the mirror of home held up for Aeneas in the version given in Virgil.[9]

Along with several other cities and communities in the Mediterranean, Epirus and Epirote cities could claim Trojan links of ancestry, and refer to traditions no less complex or old than those of Rome.[10] The eponymous ancestor of the Molossians was said to be the older son of Andromache and Pyrrhus Neoptolemos, whereas the son of Andromache and Helenus, Cestrinus, gave his name to the district beyond the Thyamis River, which has been associated with the plain south of Butrint; ancient *Onchesmos* (modern Saranda), was traditionally associated with Anchises and where, as late as the 6th century AD, local tradition claimed Anchises died.[11] The links between Epirus and Troy were investigated by Varro, who confirmed that names like Troia, Pergama, Simoeis, Xanthus and Troiana Castra were actual names and included Pergamis as a district in Epirus.[12] This is echoed by Pausanias who highlights the reciprocal nature of this relationship in his account of Pergamus, the youngest of the three sons of Andromache and Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, to whom he credits the foundation of Pergamon in Asia Minor, and in which city he says existed a shrine to Andromache.[13] Similarly, the journey of Aeneas existed in various traditions claiming not just Butrint as one of the stops en route, but also Zacynthus, Leucas, and Actium in the Ionian, Ambracia and Dodona on the mainland, and *Onchesmos* at the Straights of Corfu.[14]

The origins of the association between Troy and Epirus are uncertain. A.M. Biraschi has suggested that it was developed in form during the late 5th century BC.[15] He sees the Molossian expansion in the area as fundamental, not the least in the context of complex relationships between Epirote tribes (in particular the Chaeonians, Molossians and Thesprotians), Greek city-states, and Thessaly, Macedonia and Illyria.[16] The date is supported also by the trend found among Greek colonies to increasingly emphasise mythical rather than historical founders during the Classical period, an aspect finding

Fig. 4.2 Augustan coin from Butrint, depicting a head of a bull and a tripod (BF, photo by M. Grayley)

resonance in Euripides' play *Andromache*. Here the prophecy relating the royal house of the Molossians to Andromache, Neoptolemus and Helenus is particularly relevant.[17] In this atmosphere, Homeric and Trojan traditions would have mingled and been assimilated in a promotion of heroic ancestry by local tribes, cities and dynasts. For instance, King Pyrrhus as a Molossian could claim both Trojan and Greek descent but chose to favour the Greek Achilles as his ancestor. The parallel development of the foundation origins of Rome is particularly lively in the later 4th and 3rd centuries BC, and the trend of its evolution is analogous: an amalgamation of diverse narrative strands intermingling Hellenic and Trojan heroes, with an emphasis on eponymous founders.[18] Erich Gruen argues for 5th-century BC Sicilian writers being pivotal to the transmission – if not the creation – of the legend of the Trojan journey west.[19] This is a particularly attractive proposal to associate also with Epirus, given the cultural and geographical links between Corcyra and Magna Graecia, and the alliances between the kingdom of Epirus and western Greek cities – in particular Syracuse – in the 4th/3rd century BC.[20] At its roots, the Epirote association with Troy transcended any simple significance of Trojan ancestry as identification with Rome or with Roman imperial administration of the region. What we do not know is if, and when, the Trojan–Epirote links were used in order to appeal to a communality of ancestry between Epirus and Rome.[21] For instance, it is tempting to imagine that the Chaonians and Thesprotians in advocating support of Rome in the Third Macedonian War would have evoked their common Trojan ancestry, just as it might have formed the basis of Cicero and Atticus' appeal to Caesar on behalf of the Buthrotians.[22]

For Butrint, in particular, the associations with Troy were equally equivocal before the writing of the *Aeneid*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus recounts how the Trojan group split up after arriving at Butrint: the larger group, led by Anchises, remained while Aeneas with a smaller group of men set off for the four-day journey overland to Dodona.[23] According to Dionysius, this is where they encountered Helenus and received the good omens for their quest, after which they rejoined the Trojan fleet and set out. According to this version, the lasting manifestation at Butrint of the Trojan presence is that the hill upon which they camped from then on was known as Troy. In other words, this version links Helenus with the oracular sanctuary site of Dodona, and speaks only of a temporary Trojan presence at Butrint itself. Still, Helenus as the founder of Butrint is not a Virgilian invention. Stephanus Byzantinus, quoting the 1st-century BC historian Teucros of Cyzicus, details one of the stories related to the travels of Helenus, and pays particular attention to the story of the sacrifice of the bull.[24] Helenus and his fellow Trojans are said to have stopped in Epirus during their westward journey; they prepare to sacrifice a bull, but the animal escapes, swims across the gulf, and promptly expires as it reaches land. Helenus acknowledges this as an omen and founds a city on the very spot naming it *Buthrotum* in honour of the bull. In other words, Helenus' association with Epirus also exists as a separate tradition – unconnected with any servile status in the household of the family of Achilles, but primarily associated with his religious function – whence, undoubtedly, his proposed links to Dodona.[25]

Imaging Trojan ancestry at Butrint

The association with Helenus as the city's founder would naturally have held a particular significance for Butrint. The exceptional resonance implicit in the images of bulls on the local coinage suggests that they pertain to the omen of the sacrifice, and hence function as an identifier of the city evoking its name and auspicious foundation.

Butrint gained the right to mint coins immediately after the Caesarian grant of colonial status in 44 BC, and continued to issue coins right through the Julio-Claudian period. The Butrint issues are rich and varied in types and iconography, and hence provide a good iconographic representation of the interests and administration of the city.[26] A depiction of a bull appears on the very first coin issue at Butrint, minted by the earliest recorded *duoviri*, P. Dastidius and L. Cornelius in 44 BC. A laureate head of Zeus together with the magistrates' names is depicted on the obverse, a standing bull on the reverse (Fig. 6.8).[27] The animal is represented in profile facing right, but with its head turned frontally to face the viewer. The bull is well articulated, with a long tail, symmetrically curved horns and deep folds of flesh around it neck; it is set on a thin ground-line leaving room in the exergue for the titles of the *duoviri*. The two *duoviri* repeated the reverse type on another issue, this time with Asclepius on the obverse (Fig. 6.9).[28] The only other coin issue datable to this period, minted by Sura and another *duovir* whose name does not survive, depict a laureate or veiled male head on the obverse and the club and staff attributes of Asclepius on the reverse.[29] These divine attributions were not accidental: the sanctuaries of Zeus and Asclepius defined Butrint in the late Hellenistic period and their chief priests were accorded magisterial status and privileges of manumission.[30] The standing bull as a symbol of the foundation of the city fits into this visual programme, and between them the three coins identify the principal official aspects of the city: its Trojan ancestry, its healing sanctuary of Asclepius and its temple to Zeus.[31]

The standing bull appears on three coin issues datable to the reign of Augustus, with a further two issues depicting the head of a bull. That is, the animal is depicted on a third of all issues in this period. The type of the standing bull follows that established by Dastidius and Cornelius: its body depicted in profile to the right with its head turned frontally or three-quarter to the viewer, and almost always shown standing on a thin ground-line (cf. Fig. 6.13). The repetition of the type and in particular the insistence on the ground-line makes it tempting to speculate if the format was based on a sculptural model. Fragments of life-size bronze sculpture have been found at Butrint, but none that could indicate the presence of a sculpture of a bull.[32] However, the centrality of the myth and the emphatic representation of it in the local coinage suggest that a three-dimensional depiction is at least a likely hypothesis. Bulls were a common symbol on Hellenistic Epirote coinage. However, the unequivocal reference to Helenus' sacrifice on a Claudian coin strengthens the reading of all the issues as intending the Trojan and auspicious foundations of Butrint, and not simply a generalised reference to the region.[33] In the centre of the reverse field is depicted a swimming ox, its head thrown back and its front legs and hooves thrashing in the curvy lines of the water (Fig. 6.15). The effort of the animal is palpable and can only refer to the bull swimming across to Butrint. No other issues use this type, suggesting that it was self-consciously and specifically designed as a visual narration of the legend, without references to sculptural or other models for inspiration.

The centrality and popularity of the bull-imagery during the Caesarian, and especially throughout the Julio-Claudian, period indicate the political significance of the image for Butrint as a symbol of the city's Trojan ancestry. It might have been expected that the reverse depictions of the standing bull would have been matched by the portrait of Augustus on the obverse, thereby presenting the emperor as a new Helenus – a new founder of Butrint – in the same way that the emperor is associated with Aeneas as a new founder of Rome in the Virgilian epic. This is not the case. It does seem, though, that this intention informed the iconography of the Claudian coin with the swimming bull, in which the imperial portrait does appear on the obverse (Fig. 6.15).[34] The portrait of Augustus has been identified in three issues. Two depict an arcaded structure normally interpreted as the aqueduct/bridge, the standing piers of which are still visible across the Vrina Plain and in Butrint itself.[35] The emperor and the imperial image are, in other words, here associated with a specific act of beneficence and patronage. The third includes an intriguing reverse type of a standing (or walking) male figure, possibly in military dress, carrying an elongated object in his raised left hand (Fig. 6.11). Sam Moorhead has suggested that the figure – who has variously been interpreted as a warrior or as the genius of the colony – may indeed be Aeneas carrying the palladium.[36] This particular type may be the earliest Augustan type minted at Butrint. The obverse ethnic of C.A.BUT provides the most tangible proof of a refounding of the colony by Augustus as *Colonia Augusta Buthrotum*, compared to the Caesarian/triumviral C.I.BUT (*Colonia Iulia Buthrotum*) found on a previous issue – issued by *duoviri* possibly of the same family.[37] If the figure is accepted as Aeneas, the issue marks an explicit awareness of the links between Butrint and the Trojan hero, as well as a deliberate promotion of this tradition by effectively presenting Aeneas as the link between Butrint and Rome/Augustus – very much as he is presented in the *Aeneid* despite the coin possibly preceding the publication of the poem by more than a decade.[38] Rather than intimating a response to the *Aeneid*, a possible choice of Aeneas hints at a lively cultural exchange in the 1st century BC.[39]

The promotion of Helenus as a key figure in the early history of Roman Butrint is much in keeping with the approach of Virgil in his refashioning of the diverse traditions relating Troy and Epirus into a single narrative account. As elucidated by Robert Lloyd, Virgil retains much of the older tradition for the journey of Aeneas and simply telescopes a series of stops into one significant visit. In this way the stop at Actium embodies those at Zakynthus, Leukas and Ambracia, while that at Butrint

represent the visits to Dodona and *Onchesmos*.[40] While Lloyd's assessment of the choice of Actium, as an implicit commemoration of Augustus' victory in 31 BC, is surely correct, the stop at Butrint must signify more than avoiding a cumbersome inland trip to Dodona as he suggests.[41] Rather, it appears as an officially sanctioned promotion of Butrint on a par with that of Actium. It is from Helenus that Aeneas receives the clearest omen of the successful outcome of his journey, and by situating this event at Butrint the status of the city is elevated. The shift in power away from Dodona – where in the older tradition Aeneas had met Helenus – may be seen as an effective way of obscuring a continuing association (real or perceived) of the Molossian King Pyrrhus with this part of Epirus. The memory of the adversary, who counted himself a direct descendant of Achilles and provided the catalyst for Roman identification with Troy, seems to find expression in the *Aeneid's* hostile attitude to all things Greek, and it is difficult not to read Andromache's account of her suffering at the hands of Pyrrhus Neoptolemos as a damning reminder of his historical namesake.[42] Since Dodona for centuries has formed the symbolic and religious focal point of the Epirote Alliance and later Epirote League, the promotion of Butrint can be seen as an implicit attempt at creating a new – and Roman – centre for Epirus.[43] Further, Virgil's Helenus is no longer associated with Zeus, but with Apollo and hence with explicit links to Actium/Nicopolis.[44] In the officially sanctioned rewriting of the history of Aeneas, Butrint and Actium/Nicopolis appear as part of a new, refashioned axis of influence in Epirus: one the ancient city of Trojan Helenus, the other the new city of Roman Augustus.

Butrint and Augustus

The Augustan re-foundation of Butrint undoubtedly took place soon after the Actian victory. Not only does the explicit identification of Butrint as respectively a Caesarian and Augustan colony in the coins issued by the *duoviri* both named Sura suggests a relatively short time-span between the two issues, but the monumental togate statue found in the Forum area of Butrint would seem to confirm this (Fig. 5.1). As Iris Pojani has shown, the monumental size argues for the statue originally depicting Augustus, and the Republican-style toga, comparable to the depictions of senators on the victory monument at Nicopolis, situates it soon after 31 BC.[45] As noted above, the Augustan coin minted by the magistrate Pomponius Graecinus depicting a bull's head on the obverse and the tripod of Apollo on the reverse, may be a more explicit attempt at visualising the links between Butrint and Nicopolis (Figs 4.2 and 6.12).[46] The juxtaposition of the two images may be deliberately intended to draw attention to the link with Troy and power of divination shared by both Helenus and Apollo.

An unequivocal indication of the city's wish to align itself with the new *princeps* exists in the group of imperial portraits found by Luigi Maria Ugolini in 1928–31 in the area around the theatre, as well as by a second portrait of Agrippa found in 1977 some 70 m to the east of the theatre (Figs. 4.3–4.6).[47] The group comprises Augustus, Livia and Agrippa and all are datable to the Augustan period, probably not long after the battle of Actium.[48] All the portraits are slightly over life-size and the three found near the theatre were intended for insertion into statues.[49] The portrait types of Augustus and Livia conform to their most common imperial modes of the Prima Porta and Fayum types respectively, though not without some slight variations. In particular, the depiction of Livia includes a ribbon encircling the head behind the sweep of side curls (Fig. 4.4). Drawing on a Hellenized royal aspect may not only have been considered appropriate for a female member of the imperial house, but it may also indicate the Greek origin of the portrait and the cultural links of Butrint.[50] The portrait of Livia is notably more Hellenistic in style and with less of the Augustan ideal 'dryness' than those of the men. The thin ribbon may also have afforded a visual transition between the side curls and the otherwise summarily worked upper part of her hair, minimising the visual impact of the latter, especially if viewed from below. Traces of pigment colouring the hair are visible on the left of the head of Augustus, and it is possible that all four portraits relied on detail added in paint.[51] In the portrait of Augustus, the otherwise confident carving shows some uncertainty around the right eye – it is not perfectly aligned with the left but 'droops' somewhat, and the area immediately below the lower lid is cut in a flat, shelf-like plane (Fig. 4.3).[52] Both portraits of Agrippa conform to his distinctive portrait type with somewhat square face, pronounced jaw-line and emphatic brow, though clearly not carved by the same hand: the portrait found in the theatre is less thickset and generally more crisply rendered than the other (Figs. 4.5 and 4.6). However, unlike the majority of portraits of Agrippa, the two from Butrint appear more classicising and idealised in style.[53] The intention may have been to render the portrait visually similar to that of Augustus in order to stress their allegiance; though, it may also draw on Hellenistic influences, as in the portrait of Livia, rather than a Roman veristic tradition in order to articulate a particular importance of Agrippa at Butrint.

Overall the three portraits found near the theatre share enough stylistic similarities to suggest that they were displayed (possibly even commissioned) as a group. Cornelius Vermeule has suggested a Corinthian workshop for the portraits of Augustus and Agrippa, and a Corinthian or Athenian workshop for that of Livia.[54] The Athenian background of the sculptor fashioning one of the two cuirassed statues discovered in front of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre, might, as has been suggested, also indicate an Attic workshop exporting through the Gulf of Corinth (Fig. 5.2).[55] No marble workshops have been identified at Corinth, but several unfinished pieces

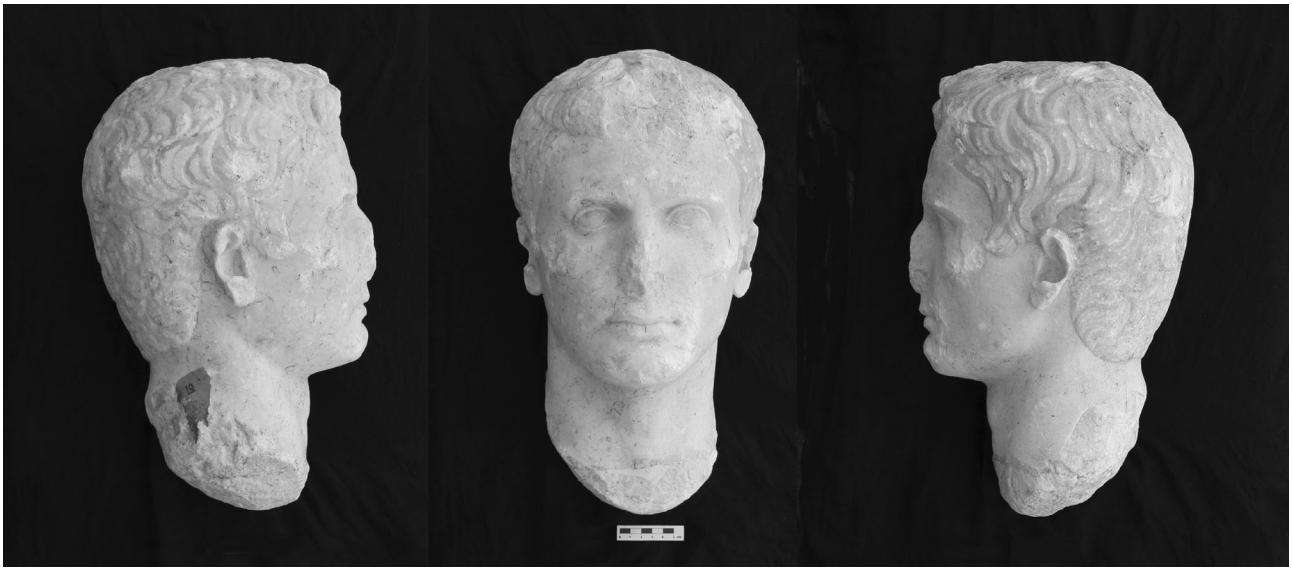

Fig. 4.3 Portrait of Augustus found near the theatre (BF, photo by M. Grayley)

Fig. 4.4 Portrait of Livia found near the theatre (BF, photo by M.Grayley)

evidence the working and finishing of sculpture there. Further, Butrint shares with Corinth an iconographic influence from Rome mixed with a classicizing (possibly Attic) form in its Augustan and early imperial portraiture.[56] As an inspirational source, access to high-quality workshops in Athens and Corinth situates Butrint among Greek cities with a tradition of honorific dedications to Romans.[57] However, these links cannot explain the composition of the group nor the rapidity with which the dedications were brought about.

As the recent works by Elizabeth Bartman and C. Brian Rose have shown, a series of group portrait

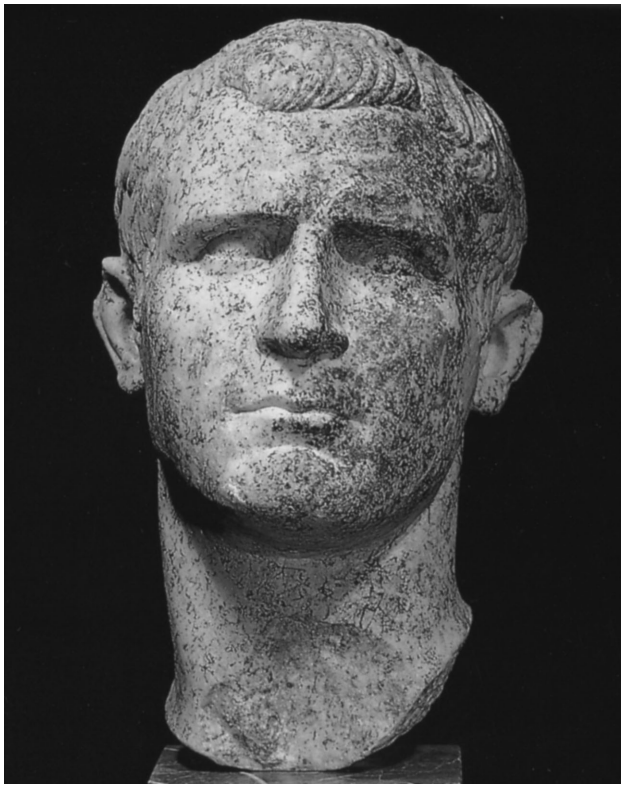

Fig. 4.5 Portrait of Agrippa found near the theatre (after AA.VV. 1988)

commemorations, including any combination of Augustus, Livia and Agrippa, can be dated before Agrippa's death in 12 BC – that is, within a broad time-range of the Butrint portraits. Dedications to Augustus and Livia were erected at Eleusis, at Iulis on Ceos (31–27 BC) and possibly at Cyzicus (Augustan); to Augustus and Agrippa at the Pantheon in Rome (29–25 BC), at Andriaca (16–13 BC), and possibly on Delos; and to Livia and Agrippa at Thespiae (16–13 BC), and possibly at Palaepaphus on Cyprus.[58] All of these dedications belong within the period between 31–12 BC. However, the relative absence of the image of Agrippa in group commemorations prior to his marriage to Julia in 23 BC and their travels in the east between 16–13 BC is noteworthy. Apart from Butrint, the only other example prior to 23 BC is at Agrippa's own dedication of the Pantheon in Rome. Indeed, prior to the death of Augustus in 14 AD Augustus, Livia and Agrippa are only represented together on the procession reliefs on the Ara Pacis in Rome (13–9 BC), on the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates at Ephesus (4–3 BC) – and at Butrint.[59] Though the surviving dedications probably only present a fraction of those originally erected in their honour, the sample nevertheless indicates the singularity of a group representation of this date and composition.

In the same way that dress, adornment and gesture were used to particularize individual representations, the juxtaposition of figures would have communicated a similar message concerning the internal relationship between the persons depicted and the motivation for the dedication. Whereas depictions of Augustus and Livia could epitomise a broad span of abstract dynastic and moral aspects of rule, the military and political implications of representations of Augustus and Agrippa required careful political negotiation. This is made clear in both Dio's account of the placing of the statues of Augustus and Agrippa in the Pantheon in Rome, and in the dedication to the two men at Andriaca.[60] At the former, the motivation was explicitly stated as symbolising a show of loyalty not rivalry. At Andriaca their matching honours as saviours and benefactors were given a hierarchical differentiation by pronouncing Augustus' influence as universal, Agrippa's as local.[61]

Agrippa undoubtedly had a strong client base at Butrint, even prior to 31 BC and it may have been an important consideration for including his depiction among an explicitly 'imperial' portrait-group of Augustus and Livia. Indeed, it may explain why two portrait statues were erected in his honour. An indication of this relationship is provided by the obverse decoration of a dolphin and trident on a coin from Butrint. This bears a striking resemblance to one minted at Nicopolis in honour of Agrippa, and there can be little doubt that the Butrint coin was modelled on the Nicopolis type (Figs. 4.7 and 4.8).[62] The reference to the sea provides an effective allusion to the naval battle in 31 BC. Though, the explicit adoption of an Agrippan rather than Augustan type indicates a particular relationship, and it is likely that one or both of the minting *duoviri*, M. Pullienus and L. Ateius Fuscus, were clients of Agrippa. Local influence based on a strong client base would have been established as a consequence of Agrippa's marriage to Caecilia Attica, the daughter of T. Pomponius Atticus, four years prior to the Actium battle (cf. Fig. 4.1).[63] As noted above, the numismatic evidence shows that members of the Pomponii family dominated high office at Butrint across the Augustan period. Their position may reflect a status achieved under the patronage of Atticus, to whom the city dedicated a statue, but more likely it is an acknowledgement of the continued support by Agrippa (and Caecilia Attica) after Atticus' death in 32 BC.[64] In other words, the inclusion of Agrippa among the imperial group, suggests an intent, as at Andriaca, to visualise intertwining concerns of local and universal significance, and to project Butrint's direct relationship with imperial power, while simultaneously seeking to resolve issues of imperial political predominance.

Even accepting the particular status of Agrippa as a motivating factor for his inclusion, the composition of the group is unusual. Ought a fourth figure to be reconstructed to the group, creating a visually balanced dedication consisting of four paired statues? A statue of Caecilia Attica might have been deemed appropriate; however, already in 29 BC Agrippa had married Claudia

Fig. 4.6 Portrait of Agrippa found in 1977 (BF, photo by M.Grayley)

Fig. 4.7 Augustan coin from Butrint with dolphin and trident, and head of a bull (RPC cast, with permission by the authors)

Fig. 4.8 Coin from Nicopolis with Agrippa, and dolphin and trident (courtesy of the British Museum, ref.: BMCGC vol. 6, 103, no.14)

Marcella, the niece of Augustus. A Julian woman among the group would have implied a firm dynastic link between the two couples, similar to the later depictions of Agrippa after his marriage to Augustus' daughter Julia and the emperor's adoption of their sons.[65] An Augustan, over life-size female figure in the so-called Large Herculaneum type discovered in association with the imperial portraits might have been paired with Agrippa (Fig. 5.3).[66] The type and size of the statue indicates a person of some standing though the face is not given portrait features. However, it could also have represented a local benefactress, as was common across the empire.[67] Another identifiable head exists, which can be tied stylistically and historically to the group. The 1928–31 excavations in the theatre also yielded a handsome head of Apollo of the so-called Antium type (Fig. 4.9).[68] It is possible that the depiction of the deity should be associated with the imperial group, on grounds of date and find-spot, as the patron deity of the Actian victory and of the princeps.[69] Indeed, as already noted, the composite relationship with Troy, Nicopolis and Augustus may have informed the iconographic choice for the Butrint coin pairing a bull's head and a tripod. The figure's fine features, slim neck and mass of curls tied in a knot above the head, for long led the head to be identified as a woman and to be joined to a female body in the so-called Nemesis of Rhamnous type (Fig. 5.5). Now only the head survives, and the attribution is hence impossible to ascertain.[70] Could the particular context of the period immediately after Actium have rendered such a grouping appropriate? Appearing as a pendant to Livia might explain the highly feminized aspects of the Apollo head, and paired with the patron deity of the new *princeps*, Agrippa would have appeared as a loyal adherent of Augustus and as instrumentally significant in establishing the new rule. The group dedication would then in manner appear similar to the carefully articulated dedications at Andriaca and in the Pantheon in Rome.

The victory at Actium undoubtedly provided the motivating catalyst for the imperial dedications, as

Fig. 4.9 Head of Apollo discovered near the theatre (after AA.VV. 1988)

Fig. 4.10 Marble relief depicting Nike and a trophy of armour (after AA.VV. 1988)

suggested by a further find from Butrint. Across the channel, on the Vrina Plain, a fragment of a relief frieze depicting the winged goddess Victory was discovered by workmen in 1930 (Fig. 4.10).[71] Represented in a slight three-quarter pose, the figure of Nike stands in front of a trophy of armour – resting her left hand on the captured cuirass, while lifting a portion of her drapery with her right; above the trophy the outline of wings of a second Nike is visible suggesting a processional composition of figures. The piece formed part of a decorative frieze – undoubtedly decorating a public monument given the size of the panel (*c*. 0.8 × 0.5 m). The classicising aspect of the relief situates it within the neo-Attic style popular in the late Republican and early Imperial periods.[72] It bears stylistic and compositional affinities with the Lansdowne Athena relief in Copenhagen (recently identified as an Italian work dated to the early Augustan period), with the decoration on the Corinth puteal in the British Museum, as well as with the relief on the semicircular marble base at Nicopolis.[73] Like these, the Butrint Nike may be read as a celebrative response to the Actian victory, and adherence with the new regime.[74]

No inscriptions survive to illuminate how the imperial group was celebrated at Butrint. However, if one accepts the proposed identification of Aeneas on the first coin after the Augustan re-foundation of Butrint, it suggests that the legendary origins of the *gens* Julia and the promotion of Augustus as a new Aeneas was an important aspect for the city. Indeed, it makes it likely that the city would have appealed to this shared Trojan origin in its dealing with the *princeps* in the immediate aftermath of the Actium Battle and the regional re-organisation following the foundation of Nicopolis, in order to establish itself (as suggested in the Virgilian account) as an integral part in the new axis of influence in the region.

Butrint and Roman Epirus

Despite the marriage of Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa and Caecilia Attica, to Tiberius between 16–12 BC there is surprisingly little evidence of the links established between Butrint and the imperial house being developed in the period following the death of Augustus. No coins were minted at Butrint in the name of either Tiberius or Caligula, nor have portrait representations been found that could indicate additions to the original imperial group during their reigns. However, a surviving inscription testifies to the city's continued attempt to link itself to the imperial house as late as 12 AD when Germanicus, the designated heir to Tiberius, was honoured as *quinquennal* at Butrint.[75] The honour was undoubtedly a bid to secure imperial support also from

the heirs of Augustus, and the dynastic bonds are explicitly stated in the naming of Germanicus as the son of Tiberius and grandson of Augustus (cf. Fig. 4.1). Since Germanicus had married Agrippina the Elder, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia, in AD 5, the honour granted provides further evidence for the particular status of Agrippa at Butrint as well as for the continuing patronage of his family – real or perceived – even a quarter century after his death.

It may have been expected that the coinage minted at Butrint during the reign of Claudius would have recalled the types used by Augustus, but this is not the case. As well as two types entirely new to Epirus, a palm tree and the swimming ox discussed above, the Claudian coinage makes use of two rather enigmatic figures: a seated male figure with cornucopia and anchor, and a standing figure with cornucopia and patera.[76] However, the reverse legends give some clue to how the city situated itself. Starting with Claudius and continuing through the Neronian period, the Butrint coinage is labelled CCIB, an ethnic now interpreted as *Colonia Campestris Iulia Buthrotum*.[77] Though the Claudian types differ from those of earlier periods, the sentiment appears similar: the new ethnic combined with the explicit reference to the foundation myth of Butrint, in the depiction of the swimming ox, implicitly present Claudius as a new Helenus and as a new founder of the city. The reference to a plain or those living on a plain indicated by *Campestris* is particularly interesting, since it reflects the (large scale) investment in the settlement on the Vrina Plain evidenced archaeologically.[78] The Neronian coinage appears to back this up, for one of the overwhelmingly popular images during this period is the aqueduct/bridge reproducing a type found on the Augustan coinage.[79] If this represents the aqueduct at Butrint, the numismatic imagery – like the excavation data – suggests that the original Augustan benefaction was finally brought to completion in this period. However, the reference to a plain as a defining feature of the nature of Butrint can also be read within the allusion to Butrint as a new Troy. As Dominico Musti has shown, the places described as Troy in antiquity all share specific geographic similarities: they are located on hills and are situated both near the sea and near one or more rivers.[80] Hence, the entire landscape counts for the association with Troy, not the least the maritime-riverine aspect and associated marshy landscape. Thus, in the Claudian period Butrint's association with Troy was extended from the Virgilian description of the fortified city to encompass the entire urban landscape of Roman Butrint.

The impression of a substantial Claudian – and later Neronian – investment in the area is supported by the discovery of two female portrait heads (Figs. 4.11 and 4.12). Both were found during Ugolini's 1928–31 excavations, one (Fig. 4.11) in front of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre not far from the statue to which it appears to pertain, the other (Fig. 4.12) inside the 'shrine'/

Fig. 4.11 Portrait statue of Agrippina the Younger(?) found in front of the scaenae frons *of the theatre (after AA.VV. 1988)*

treasury of Asclepius.[81] Both have been seen as private portraits associated with the court style of Agrippina the Younger in particular.[82] However, one bears a striking physiognomic resemblance to the empress and could conceivably be a portrait of Claudius' niece and fourth wife, and mother of Nero.

The portrait from the theatre is broken at the neck but joins convincingly with the inset remaining in a draped female figure found nearby (Fig. 4.11). The face bears a good physiognomic resemblance to Agrippina the Younger, in particular the low, straight forehead; the regular set eyes and slight indentation at the bridge of the nose; the small, unsmiling mouth with finely curved lips; and the small chin that in the break-line appear to be pointed.[83] The hairstyle is somewhat uncertain in its handling of the two rows of spiral curls that frame the

Fig. 4.12 Clipeus portrait found in the 'shrine'/treasury of Asclepius (BF, photo by M.Grayley)

face and partially cover the ears, but the flat-combed centre parting and tiny antithetic curls over the forehead conform well to coiffures of Agrippina the Younger, as does the chignon at the back and the corkscrew curls falling from behind the ears. The top of the head is summarily worked, and horizontal bands behind the curls may be an indication that she originally wore a diadem or headdress. The uncertain carving and arrangement of the hair is viewed by Johannes Bergemann as evidence that the figure does not represent an imperial woman.[84] However, it may be an indication that the portrait of Agrippina was recut from an earlier representation of Valeria Messalina – a suggestion already made by Hans Rupprecht Goette.[85] Politically, the commemoration of Agrippina the Younger provided a potent link to the imperial house: quite apart from the loyalty thereby extended to an emperor presumably already making a considerable investment in Butrint, the city would have been able to call upon Agrippina's descent from Agrippa as well as her links to the Ahenobarbii in their bid for patronage (cf. Fig. 4.1). Indeed, the survival of the statue, despite Agrippina's exile and condemnation by her son Nero, might be linked to the tradition of ties between these families and Butrint.

The suggestion that a portrait of Valeria Messalina might have existed at Butrint suggests that a closer study of the portrait head discovered inside the 'shrine'/treasury of Asclepius ought to be undertaken. This head is preserved from the height of the throat to the brow and forehead curls (Fig. 4.12). The back of the neck has been deliberately flattened and the rear of the head cut with careful attention to the outline of the curls. The portrait was, in other words, not designed for insertion into a statue, but makes sense as a *clipeus* portrait. The absence of the top and rear of the head may indicate that the portrait was originally adorned with an elaborate headdress, though no remains of attachments are evident. The face is youthful, with softly rounded cheeks and rather fleshy lower chin; large eyes clearly outlined by the upper and lower lids; and finely arched eyebrows. The mouth is relatively small, but deep carving at its corners give the face the appearance of a half-smile. The forehead is low and the face is framed by three rows of regularly placed, tight curls that cover most of the ears and terminate in a corkscrew curl. Indeed, the facial features, hairstyle and provision for a headdress are similar to portraits identified by Susan Wood as Valeria Messalina.[86] Messalina was already married to Claudius when he gained power in AD 41, the same year in which their son, Britannicus, was born; she could claim descent through both parents from Augustus' sister, Octavia, and hence in the realm of imperial political symbolism she embodied the link with the dynastic past and the continuation of the Julian line. For Butrint, the accession to power of Claudius, the birth of an heir, and the imperial couple's promotion of their dynastic links to Augustus would have provided an obvious incentive to honour the imperial couple in the hope of rekindling imperial patronage of the city. Valeria Messalina was further the granddaughter of the Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, who in 16 BC had been honoured as patron at Butrint (cf. Fig. 4.1).[87] As discussed by Elizabeth Deniaux, there is much to suggest that the family had long-standing client base at Butrint, and to honour Valeria Messalina can be seen within the context of (re)establishing a personal relationship between the city and the reigning emperor similar to that sought through Agrippa.[88] If the two portraits can be linked to her, the good preservation of the small *clipeus* portrait may be evidence that the portrait was removed from public display at the time of Valeria

Messalina's official condemnation in 48 AD (and possibly stored in the 'shrine'/treasury building), whereas the statue must have been considered important enough to warrant the laborious task of reconfiguring the portrait.

The status of the Domitii Ahenobarbi at Butrint may have encouraged the patronage of Nero. Certainly the coin types minted during his reign are particularly plentiful. Judging by the portrait type of the emperor on the obverse, the entire series was minted late in Nero's reign (cf. Figs. 6.16 and 6.17) – most probably in connection with the emperor's visit to Greece in 66–67 AD, as has been proposed also for the contemporary coinage of Corinth, Nicopolis, Patras, Phoenicê and Sicyon.[89] A reverse type of a palm tree recalls the Claudian issue, and another with a bust of Asclepius highlight the status of the sanctuary, but overwhelmingly the iconographic types on the larger denominations make use of the aqueduct bridge, as already noted, and of a butting bull. Both of these may be deliberate evocations of the Augustan types, and of the dynastic and cultural implications of this imagery. Yet, the consistent use of a butting bull – with its head down, front left hoof scraping the ground and its tail thrashing – as opposed to the Augustan standing bull type is surely significant.[90] Bulls are not a common coin image during the Julio-Claudian period; the image is never used in the imperial issues of Nero and only appears on issues from the Augustan imperial mint at *Lugdunum* (Lyon).[91] However, from Epirus a pertinent model would have been available for the mint at Butrint. The butting bull appears in vast numbers on the issues of the Epirote Alliance between 329/325 and *c*. 300 BC and in particular on the issues of the Epirote League in a period after 234/3 BC (Fig. 4.13).[92] Iconographically, the bull on the Neronian Butrint issues is strikingly similar to the earlier Epirote symbol (Fig. 4.14). Hence, while drawing on traditional associations to its Trojan ancestry, the city is clearly also seeking to encourage wider associations of political leadership. As Susan Alcock has pointed out, a fundamental aspect of Nero's visit to Achaea was to establish a new – and Roman – conception of Greece.[93] The emperor promoted this through public acts like the grant of freedom to the province of Achaea, his participation in civic and Pan-Hellenic festivals, and by renaming key cities like Patras and Nicopolis in his own name (respectively *Colonia Neronia Patrensis* and *Nerononicopolis*) while ignoring 'traditional' cities, like Athens and Sparta.[94] In Epirus, Nero is recorded as having visited Corcyra, Cassiope and Nicopolis (participating twice in the Actian games), but of Butrint there is no formal record to suggest what could have occasioned the change in the numismatic iconography.[95] However, the promotion of a Roman Greece must have seemed sufficiently similar to the Augustan endorsement of Butrint, as a new Roman focal point in Epirus, to embolden the city to make a fresh claim for itself. Building on the symbolic shift in regional power set in motion by the Virgilian transference of Helenus from Dodona to Butrint, the new iconography is not simply a reminder of this but an appropriation of a symbol intimately connected to Epirote administrative authority.

The imperial visit was undoubtedly accompanied by political interventions at various levels, which may have affected both Butrint and Phoenicê.[96] Indeed, the sudden reinvigoration of the mint of Phoenicê in this period suggests an intense local competition for political predominance between the old Chaonian capital and the Roman colony. Where Butrint throughout had minted in Latin, Phoenicê uses legends in Greek, highlighting a fundamental difference in cultural contextualisation and associations of authority between the two cities. The mint of Phoenicê continued to produce coins well into the reign of Trajan, but after the death of Nero no further coins were issued from the mint at Butrint.[97] Whether due to practical administrative reasons, or to Butrint's long-standing links with the family of the Domitii Ahenobarbi being considered uncomfortable, the change indicates a renewed economic dominance in the region by Phoenicê. However, the Neronian Butrint coinage remained in use as the official coinage of the city for some time and most of it is countermarked with B.AV. The new ethnic may signify *Buthrotum Augusta*, and

Fig. 4.13 Silver didrachm of the Epirote koinon (late 3rd century BC) depicting Dodonean Zeus and Dione, and a butting bull in oak wreath (after Dakaris 2000)

*Fig. 4.14 Neronian coin from Butrint with imperial portrait and butting bull (*RPC *cast, with permission by the authors)*

suggest that the city implicitly sought to situate itself within the network of Augustan cities throughout Epirus and Achaea, honouring its greatest single patron, and – judging by the sustained 2nd-century expansion evident in archaeological data – continuing to highlight the particular links between it and the imperial capital.[98]

Conclusion

Despite the long-standing tradition of the Trojan ancestry of Butrint, the material reveals a surprising adaptability of this legend in the promotion of the city. The rapid appearance and longevity of the image of the standing bull as a symbol of the city hint at its long-established use. Indeed, there is something particularly formal about the Caesarian coins and their careful enumeration of key civic symbols. The Augustan re-foundation of Butrint clearly had a substantial economic effect, promoting a series of large-scale public building works, like the aqueduct bridge proudly advertised on the coinage, and the city sought to cement this relationship by erecting a series of imperial portrait statues to adorn its public spaces. The Actian victory and the foundation of Nicopolis naturally gained a central importance in the expression of allegiance to its two principal benefactors, Augustus and Agrippa. However, it also allowed the city to link itself to a reconfigured network of urban centres across the province. Simultaneously the association with Rome was also expressed with reference to the legendary origins of Butrint and the *princeps*. The so-called Aeneas coin appears as an accomplished piece of experimentation in visual narrative, but it is the repeated reference to Butrint's own foundation story that establishes the city most clearly as the mediator between Greece and Rome. The official promotion of Butrint in the Virgilian epic cannot but have been seen as an affirmation of status and significance. Only Claudius appears in the guise of a 'new Helenus' for Butrint, honoured no doubt for a substantial investment in the city and expansion onto the Vrina Plain. The latter is reflected in a contemporary change in ethnic, hinting at a greater physical assimilation with Troy than earlier. The continued investment, the links of patronage to the family of Nero, and the emperor's grant of provincial freedom undoubtedly encouraged Butrint to make an even bolder claim for regional status in the late 60s AD, and, with a subtle change in iconography, the city's Trojan heritage became integrally linked to Epirote administration.

Virgil in the *Aeneid* had charted the rise of a new Troy in the west. In it he bestowed upon Butrint the role of intermediary: a city built by Trojans on the boundary between Greek and Italian worlds. If the Virgilian description of Butrint made the city appear as an image – a *parva Troia* – so the portraits and dedications with which Butrint filled its public spaces may be seen as the visualisation, the imaging, of the pact articulated in the poem by reference to the patronage afforded to the city by the imperial circle of Rome. The city's very existence in the epic symbolises the promise made by Aeneas, the pact between Troy and Rome.[99] In many ways, Butrint's use of its Trojan heritage can be understood as an attempt at providing a very real basis for this promise and to carve out a position for itself as a key point in the Ionian.[100]

Notes

1 Loeb Classical Library 1999; transl. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. by G.P. Goold.

2 Virgil *Aeneid* 3.349–51 (Loeb Classical Library 1999; transl. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. by G.P. Goold). The notion of a Butrint as a mimic Troy is taken up also by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 13.715–17).

3 Cf. Hardie 1998: 69 "Aeneas's journey is both an exile and an homecoming". See also Toll 1997.

4 For details on Helenus' foundation of Butrint, see below.

5 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 277, no. 1393. See also Moorhead, Gjongecaj and Abdy in this volume (SF 0061) and Fig. 6.12.

6 Virgil *Aeneid* 3.292–505.

7 On Helenus and Chaeonia see also the versions listed by Servius *Ad Aeneidem* 3.335.

8 Virgil *Aeneid* 3.349. See also Ovid *Metamorphoses* 13.721.

9 Gruen 1993: esp. 6–51; Hardie 1998: esp. 63–71; Horsfall 1987; Perret 1942.

10 Biraschi 1981/82; Lloyd 1957; Musti 1988; Perret 1942: 213–33.

11 For Molossus and Cestrine, see Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.11.1–2 and 2.23.6; note the variant of the same story given by Servius *Ad Aeneidem* 3.297. The identification of the town of Cestria, mentioned by Pliny (*Natural History* 4.1.4), with modern Çuka e Aitoit south of Butrint, has been made by Hammond 1967: 677. On *Onchesmos* as the Harbour of Anchises, see Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.51.2, and on the death of Anchises: Procopius 8.22.31. See also Lamboley 2005: 15–17 for a discussion of Trojan imagery at Apollonia.

12 The topographical investigation is cited by Servius (*Ad Aeneidem* 3.349), who notes that "unde appararet haec non esse fabulata"; Pergamis is listed in Varro *De re rustica* 2.2.1; Hammond 1967: 412.

13 Pausanias (1.11.2). Though Andromache is said to originate from Thebes in Asia Minor, her marriage to Hector (as later to his brother Helenus) assimilated her as a Trojan; hence, the dual background of her children with the son of Achilles. See also the claim by Olympias (mother of Alexander the Great) to descent both from Pyrrhus Neoptolemus and Helenus, Hammond 1967: 412. For a discussion of the status of Andromache, see Bettini 1997: 9–11.

14 Lloyd 1957: 382–3, 385–6. Aeneas is further associated with Neoptolemus in the 7th century BC *Ilias Parva*, where he and Andromache are taken to Macedonia and Thessalia, Biraschi 1981/82: 282; Hammond 1967: 386.

15 Biraschi 1981/82: 280, 284–5, 290.

16 Geographical descriptions of the Epirote coast, in particular Strabo *Geography* 7.7.5, have also been suggested as being inspired by much earlier sources and may indirectly be

evidence of a detailed knowledge of the coastline and of regular trade links between Epirus and Asia Minor already in the 6th century BC, cf. Biraschi 1981/82, 286–7. See also Hammond (1967: 384 and 413–14) for even earlier dates and the suggestion that the tradition stems from the actual settlement of Trojans in the area.

17 Malkin 2005: 64–66; see also Erskine 2001: 122. Euripides *Andromache* 1244–53: "Fate orders that the captive woman Andromache shall find a home in Molossia as the lawful wife of Helenus, and shall take with her her son, who is the sole survivor of the line of Aeacus. He shall beget a prosperous dynasty of kings to rule in long succession over Molossia. This sad day does not mark the final overthrow of your family or mine, nor yet the end of Troy; for though, because Pallas demanded it, Troy fell; yet even to Troy the gods extend their kindly care" (Penguin Books 1972, transl. by P. Vellacott).

18 Gruen 1993: 16–19. On the 'bi-lingual' ancestry of the Epirote royal house and their relationship with Magna Graecia, see Erskine 2001: 123, 157–61.

19 Gruen 1993: 12–16.

20 King Pyrrhus married, Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse in 295 BC, and in the late 230s the last of the Aeacidian royal house, the princess Nereis, married Gelon II of Syracuse; Franke 1961: 279.

21 Cf. the city of Segesta requesting Roman aid during the First Punic War by appealing to their shared Trojan ancestry, and the Arcanians supporting their request for Roman support in the 230s BC with references to the Trojan wars; Gruen 1993: 44–45.

22 Cambridge Ancient History vol 8, 2nd ed. 1989: 315. Similarly, the Molossian traditional promotion of their Greek ancestry might have influenced their advocacy of neutrality, if not the later support for Macedon. For Cicero's own summary of events in 44 BC, see *Letters to Atticus* 16.16a.

23 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.51.1–2. This same version is repeated by Stephanus Byzantinus (*Ethnica* s.v. "Troia") and Servius (*Ad Aeneidem* 3.349). See also Lloyd 1957: note 21.

24 Stephanus Byzantinus *Ethnica* s.v. "Buthrotos". It is also recounted in Servius *Ad Aeneidem* 3.293.

25 For an overview see, Erskine 2001: 122 and note 134. The legends of Helenus – in their various forms – may well antedate those of the journey of Aeneas; Biraschi 1981/82: 289; Perret 1942: 223.

26 Together with Nicopolis and Phoenicê, Butrint is the only city in the area to mint coins, Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 272–9; Gjongecaj 2005.

27 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 276 no. 1378; Moorhead, Gjongecaj and Abdy in this volume (SF 0832).

28 See Moorhead, Gjongecaj and Abdy in this volume (SF 0433).

29 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 276 no. 1379.

30 Cabanes 1998; Wilkes 2003: 165–6.

31 Another aspect may have made the association with the bull of Helenus a pertinent image for the Caesarian colonial city: according to Cassius Dio (41.39.1–2) a bull designated for sacrifice escaped from Caesar in 49 BC and swam across a lake outside the city of Rome. The event was seen as an omen of success against Pompey.

32 For instance, a bronze, life-size finger was found in the trench that containing the monumental togate statue; see Pojani in this volume. In Rome, a bronze statue of a bull taken from Aegina was displayed in the Forum Boarium, presumably after the conquest of Macedonia (Ovid *Fasti* 6.477–8; Pliny *Natural History* 34.5; Tacitus *Annals* 12.24), Augustus included four bronze oxen by Myron in the decoration of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine (Propertius 2.31.7–8), and a bronze bull, together with a statue of calf said to be by Myron, were displayed in front of Vespasian's Temple of Peace (Procopius *History of the Wars* 8.21.12–14).

33 For the Hellenistic Epirote coinage, see Franke 1961; for the Claudian issue, see Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 276 no. 1399; Moorhead, Gjongecaj and Abdy in this volume, (Shën Dimitri Hoard no. 2).

34 See discussion below; for details of the coin, see notes 33.

35 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 277 nos. 1381 and 1388. The issuing duoviri for the two coins were respectively T. Pomponius and C. Iulius, and P. Pomponius Graecinus and M. Pullienus; it is possible that the repetition of form was intended to highlight the family relationship between the two Pomponii. For the aqueduct, see the discussion by Bowden in this volume as well as the contribution by Crowson and Gilkes on the implications of it for the layout of the Vrina Plain settlement.

36 For a discussion of this type as Aeneas, see Moorhead Forthcoming; Moorhead, Gjongecaj and Abdy in this volume (SF 0054). See also Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 275 and 277 no. 1380 on the difficulty of interpreting this type. Moorhead argues that the figure wears a Phrygian cap, an attribute not normally associated with Aeneas until the 4th century AD, though it does appear in two descriptions of him in Virgil (*Aeneid* 4.214–17, and 12.97–100), nor does the image conform entirely to other numismatic representations of Aeneas of the Caesarian or Augustan period (cf. Fuchs 1973). For a discussion of the iconography of Aeneas, see Rose 2005: 34–5 and notes 68–71, as well as page 44 and notes 125 and 128 – all with further bibliography.

37 The Sura who (with an unknown colleague) issued the earlier coin depicting the attributes of Asclepius is described as *duovir* for the second time, whereas the later Q. Naevi Sura (together with A. Hirtul. Niger) minted the coins depicting Augustus and 'Aeneas' while *duovir* for the first time, cf. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 275. See also Pollo 1993.

38 Presuming a re-foundation date of Butrint around 31 BC.

39 The contemporary account of the foundation of Butrint given by Teucros of Cyzicus may be located within this same development.

40 Lloyd 1957: 389–91. Despite closely following the Virgilian version, Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 13.715–16) mentions both Ambracia and Dodona.

41 Lloyd 1957: 393 and 391. As has often been pointed out, Helenus' gift to Aeneas of "cauldrons of Dodona" creates a deliberate association between the two sites, and mirror-reverses Aeneas dedication of bronze mixing bowls at Dodona; see Virgil *Aeneid* 3.466 and Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.51.1 respectively. For the wider cultural implications of Greco-Roman relations in the Aeneid, see Gruen 1993: 5–51and Hardie 1998: 70–71.

42 For other examples of transference of omens away from

Dodona in Virgil's Aeneid, see Gwatkin 1961: 101–2. For the development of Trojan associations at Rome and the role of the Pyrrhic Wars, see Gruen 1993: 44–47, see also 26–27. Andromache's account: Virgil *Aeneid* 3.321–29; note that the armour of Neoptolemus is among the gifts to Aeneas making the latter (implicitly) appear like a victor after a battle.

43 Franke 1961: 116, 134, 150, 223; Hammond 1967: 638–9, 651–2.

44 Virgil *Aeneid* 3.359–60. See also, Gwatkin 1961: 101.

45 See Pojani in this volume.

46 Moorhead, Gjongecaj and Abdy in this volume (SF 0061); Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 277 no 1393 – see also 273 no 1365 for an Augustan coin from Nicopolis depicting a tripod. Apollo may have been worshipped also at Butrint, as suggested by two imperial period sculptural depictions of the god, though neither was found in specific religious contexts (Figs 4.9 and 5.7).

47 The head of Agrippa from the theatre is currently in The Archaeological Museum in Tirana, those of Augustus, Livia and the second portrait of Agrippa (found near the so-called Tower of Inscriptions) have recently returned to display in the Butrint Museum. Bergemann 1998: 126–32, 161; Pollo 1990: 105; Ugolini 1937: 142–4; Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 205, 215–18, 224–6.

48 Bartman 1999: 169–70 no 54 – 27–12 BC; Johansen 1971: 33 – probably soon after 30 BC; Rose 1997: 136 no 66 – probably shortly after the battle of Actium, cf. p. 61; Vermeule 1968: 176 – 30–15 BC. Many of these authors further comment on the youthfulness of the portraits. For later dating suggestions of the portraits of Agrippa, see below note 53.

49 The neck of the 1977 Agrippa portrait is broken but a roughly rectangular feature at it base could be a dowel hole now filled in.

50 Cf. Bartman 1999: 46. See also Wood 1999: fig. 21 for a Pergamene coin of *c.* 20–2 BC depicting Livia in a similar manner.

51 Traces of paint may exist also on the left eye, though the fact that it is cut flat to represent the iris makes it difficult to determine with certainty. Ugolini rejects the colouration of the hair being remains of pigment, Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 224.

52 This seems to be the case also in a colossal portrait head of Claudius from Carsulae, in which the right eye is not aligned with the left; however, it appears optically harmonious when viewed at a steep 3/4 angle; cf. Violati 1976: fig. 27. Ugolini does not mention the oddity of the right eye, but considered the sharp outline of the hair against the face, the perceived difference in style between the hair and the facial features, and the rasp marks on the cheeks as evidence that the head of Augustus had been fashioned from an earlier portrait; cf. Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 224–5. This would, however, seem unlikely, not the least since the thick swell of hair above the forehead conforms well to the Prima Porta type.

53 This has recently led some scholars to question their early Augustan date. Bergemann 1998: 132, 161 has proposed Tiberian–Claudian stylistic analogies (though see also page 66 where it is described as a local variant); Romeo 1998: 186–7 has suggested a late-Augustan date for both portraits; see also Roddaz 1984: 625–6 who sees the portrait from the theatre as a posthumous, while also stressing its production by a Greek workshop. A continued allegiance to Agrippa, even half a century after his death, is quite possible (cf. the honour paid to Germanicus), but on historical grounds it is more likely that the portraits were life-time depictions, cf. below.

54 Vermeule 1968: 175, 177. Note also the stylistic similarity between the portraits of Agrippa from Butrint and a relief depiction of him from Athens, Vermeule 1968: 175 fig. 108; Romeo 1998: 193 fig. 189.

55 Vermeule 1959: 40 no 49; 1968, 176. See Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 226–7, 233–5, 250 for further details.

56 Marble working: Sturgeon 2003: 360–2; stylistic influences: de Grazia Vanderpool 2003: 374. Attic sculptors working on commission in Corinth finds support also in the analysis of the portraits of Octavia from Athens and of Gaius Caesar from Corinth, Pollini 2002: 36.

57 Athens: Octavia and Marcus Antonius are called divine benefactors in an inscription of 39–38 BC, Raubitschek 1946; in the 20s BC. Livia was included in the cult of Hestia, the priestess of which also served the cult of her and Julia, Bartman 1999: 97 n. 52 and 101 n. 154; and a statue group comprising Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus II was dedicated some time after 4 AD, Rose 1997: 138 no. 68. Corinth: an inscription dated between 18–12 BC names Agrippa as patron of the city, West 1931: 14–15 no. 16; and a statue group of 4–14 AD commemorated Augustus, Germanicus, Gaius and Lucius; Rose 1997: 138–9 no. 69.

58 Bartman 1999: 199 no EpigCat 1 and 2, 199–200 no. EpigCat 7, 202 no. EpigCat 24; Rose 1997: 102–3 no. 31, 140–1 no 71, 149–51 no. 82, 151 no. 83, 153 no. 86, 156 text as part of no 91, 161–2 no. 100.

59 Bartman 1999: 86–92, 200 EpigCat 9; Rose 1997: 103–4 no. 32, 172–4 no. 112.

60 Dio 53.27.2–4; Rose 1997: 102–3 no. 31, 161–2 no. 100. After his marriage to Julia and the birth of their sons, the portraits of Agrippa attain a greater dynastic content; see examples above.

61 The use of 'benefactor and saviour' – the honour given to a triumphator – highlights the implicit reference to Actium in the depictions of Agrippa, an aspect particularly important at Butrint.

62 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 277 no. 1386 and 273 no. 1367. My thanks to Richard Abdy and Sam Moorhead for discussing this with me and for their assistance in obtaining illustrations of these coins, as well as of that in Fig. 4.14. Note also the iconographically similar dolphin and trident on the Corinthian coin issued by M. Antonius Theophilus in 30 BC, Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 251 no. 1130.

63 Nepos *Atticus* 12.1–2. Further, Agrippa may have been born in the Illyrian-Dalmatian area; he certainly studied at Apollonia with Octavian in 45/44 BC, and commanded the Illyrian fleet in 36 BC defeating S. Pompeius and winning the *corona navalis*.

64 Only part of the statue base to Atticus survives, inscribed [P]OMPONIANI / Q F ATTICO / [ME]RIT; *AE* 1950.68; de Franciscis 1941: 281 no. 5; Bergemann 1998: fig. 37. Note also how the *quinquennal* Pomponius Graecinus when minting only in his own name includes the symbols of the dolphin and trident; Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992:

277 no. 1392. The influence of the Pomponii at Butrint is evident also in a funerary inscription including a freedman of the family, *CIL* III 1.581; Sestieri 1943: 62 no. 4. However, the oft cited inscription naming Agrippa patron at Corfu has now convincingly been shown to be a fake, IG IX 1.5 no. 808; Ritti 1981: 36 no. 9*.

65 See, for instance, Rose 1997: 126–8 no 52 (Baeterrae), 149–51 no 82 (Thespiae), 172–4 no 112 (Ephesus). On the Baeterrae (Béziers) group, see also Wood 1996–97, who identifies the female portrait with *nodus* coiffure not as Julia (as C. B. Rose) but as a posthumous portrait of Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa and Caecilia Attica (cf. Fig. 4.1).

66 Trimble 2000: 62–4. On the statue, see Bergemann 1998: 135 no Th 6; Ugolini 1937: 144–6 figs. 88–9; Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 199 figs. 8.6–10. On the problems of reconstructing the original setting of the statues found in the theatre, see Hodges and Hansen in this volume.

67 Cf. Davies 2002: 231, 235–6 and Trimble 2000: 63, 67.

68 The head was found in front of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre and the feminine aspect of the head led it to be published under the name Dea Butrinti; Bergemann 1998: 138–40; Ugolini 1937: 137–42.

69 A later representation of Apollo, with a pendant figure of Dionysus, decorated the nymphaeum fountain near the Tower Gate where the aqueduct entered the main city (Figs 5.6–7), but no shrines to the deity have been securely established at Butrint; Ugolini 1942: 86–90. See also the discussion by Ricciardi in this volume.

70 Cf. Bergemann 1998: 55 on the problems of reconstruction the head with a Rhamnous type body. On the missing statue, see also http://www.icaa.org.al/missingantiquities.

71 Archaeological Museum, Tirana; Ugolini 1934; 1937: 127–30; 1942: 169–72. The relief is composed of four joining fragments, and mortise remains along the upper and lower edges indicate that it was originally crowned by a moulded cornice. Despite the perceived curvature of the front, the rear is flat and the relief may have functioned as a decorative frieze, as opposed to a circular monument as proposed by Ugolini. My thanks to Iris Pojani for details on the relief.

72 Cf. Fuchs 1989, who gives an early Augustan date (around 30 BC at the earliest) for the relief. My thanks to Brian Rose, Bert Smith and Susan Walker for sharing their analysis of the relief and for highlighting the classicising style and Augustan date of the piece, and in particular to Susan Walker for pointing out the stylistic parallels between the Butrint Nike, the Corinth puteal and the relief on the round monument at Nicopolis.

73 Lansdowne Athena: Böhm 2004: 63–67; Østergaard 1996: 30–1, no. 4. The Corinth Puteal: Golda 1997: 106–7, no. 58; Zagdoun 1989: 202, 234, no 159. The Nicopolis base: Zachos 2003: 89.

74 A point noted also by Brian Rose (1997: 268, cat 66 note 2) and Werner Fuchs (1989: 463). In general, see also Hölscher 1985.

75 GERMANICO IULIO TI. F. / AUGUSTI N. CAESARI / COS. / C. IULIUS C. F. STRABO PRAEFECT / QUINQUEN EIUS. *AE* 1989.642 = 1990.872. See also Deniaux in this volume and Pollo 1990.

76 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: nos. 1395–9. The palm tree is enigmatic, but clearly important enough to be revived on the Neronian coinage (see below). It is possible that an implicit reference to victory in Greece/Macedonia is intended – and hence with the Actian victory – since both Pliny and Livy report that a palm sprung up in Rome during the war with Perseus, and was seen as a portent for the Roman victory and triumph at Pydna in 168 BC (Pliny *Natural History* 17.244; Livy 43.13.5–6).

77 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 276 with further references.

78 See Crowson and Gilkes in this volume.

79 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: nos. 1400, 1402, 1404–5, 1407, 1409, see also above note 35.

80 Musti 1988: 95, 99–100.

81 AA.VV. 1988: 297 no. 176; Bergemann 1998: 150–1; Ugolini 1942: 109–10; Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 221–3 and 231–2. The portrait from the theatre has been missing since 1991, cf. http://www.icaa.org.al/missingantiquities.

82 Bergemann (1998: 150–1) is explicit in his identification of the two as private portraits; Ugolini (1942: 109–10 and 2003: 221) simply calls them 'female heads'.

83 Wood 1988; 1995.

84 Bergemann 1998: 151 no. As5.

85 Goette 1985, who unfortunately does not discuss his reasons for his observation. See also Varner 2001: 65–67 for examples of portraits of Valeria Messalina reconfigured to Agrippina the Younger, and for a discussion of the problems in recutting female hairstyles.

86 Wood 1992; Wood 1999: 252–5, figs. 123–9.

87 *AE* 1985.771 and Deniaux in this volume; Bergemann 1998: 48; Freis 1985: 224–6.

88 Deniaux 1999, as well as the contributions by Deniaux and Melfi in this volume.

89 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, Corinth: 255–6 (nos.1203–6), Sicyon: 258 (nos. 1238–44), Patras: 260–1 (nos. 1257–81), Nicopolis: 273–4 (nos. 1368–77), Phoenicê 279 (nos. 1418–19); Levy 1989. See also Morehead, Gjongecaj and Abdy in this volume (SF 2877 and SF 0013).

90 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 276 nos. 1401, 1403, 1406, 1408, 1410; though, see Morehead, Gjongecaj and Abdy in this volume (SF 2877) for a new example of a standing bull. I am grateful to Shpresa Gjongecaj and Sam Moorhead for their help and advice on numismatic depictions of butting bulls.

91 For the Augustan coins from *Lugdunum*, see Sutherland 1984: 52–54, as well as p. 84 for the depiction of a standing or walking heifer from an uncertain mint.

92 Franke 1961: 125, 161–4.

93 Alcock 1994: 105–6.

94 Alcock 1994: 104–7; Levy 1989: 64–66.

95 Bradley 1978: 63–65; Halfmann 1986: 173. After the Augustan division of Macedon in 27 BC, Epirus belonged in Achaea, cf. Papazoglou 1979: 325 and note 105; Rizakis 1997: fig. 1.

96 See Levy 1989: 66–67.

97 Gjongecaj 2005: 163–4, 177.

98 For the interpretation for the ethnic, see Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 276; and Crowson and Gilkes in this volume for the archaeological data.

99 See Bettini 1997: 28.

100 My thanks to Brian Rose and Sam Moorhead for commenting on an earlier version of this paper, neither are naturally responsible for any mistakes that remain.

References

AE *L'Année Êpigraphique*
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinum*
IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*
RPC Burnett, Amandry, and Ripollès (1992) *Roman Provincial Coinage* (see below)

AA.VV. (1988) *Albanien. Schätze aus demLand der Skipetaren*. Mainz, Philipp von Zabern.

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5 The Monumental Togate Statue from Butrint

Iris Pojani

In the autumn of 2002, a remarkable sculpture came to light near the Forum at Butrint (Fig. 5.1).[1] The statue is of monumental size and represents the torso and legs of a togate figure. The toga worn by the figure is of late Republican style, and hence the statue is an early testimony to public honours paid to Roman dignitaries at Butrint. The presently somewhat curious aspect of the statue is caused by two separate antique interventions seeking to reconfigure the statue – first into a smaller figure, then into a bust. In other words, the *togatus* in various ways provides testimony for two crucial periods in the history of Roman Butrint: the late Republican colonial foundation, and the late Roman re-organization of its urban spaces. The early date of it dedication further adds a new element to the understanding of the group of Julio-Claudian imperial portraits and the tradition of imperial honours at Butrint.[2]

Fig. 5.1 The monumental togate statue from Butrint (BF)

The sculpture collection in Butrint

The history of the discovery of the Butrint sculpture collection begins with the excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission between 1927 and 1943.[3] The main corpus of sculptures from Butrint was excavated either in or around the theatre between 1928 and 1932.[4] A large group of marble statues was recovered in these excavations, consisting of 22 statues or fragments of statues. The group divides roughly into two: over life-size statues of around 2.20 m in height, and smaller sculptures of up to 1.50 m in height.[5] Five large torsos, three draped female figures and two cuirassed male figures, constitute the core of this collection. The two cuirassed statues are identical in type and size, and designed for inset heads; the better preserved is signed by the Athenian Sosicles (Fig. 5.2).[6] The female figures comprise a statue in the so-called Large Herculaneum Woman type (Fig. 5.3a-b), a figure dressed in chiton and stola associated with a portrait head in the manner of Agrippina the Younger (cf. Fig. 4.11), and a draped figure, unfortunately very fragmentary (Fig. 5.4).[7] The excavations also revealed a group of Imperial portraits of the Julio-Claudian family consisting of Augustus, Livia and Agrippa, which were probably dedicated as part of the refoundation of the colony (Figs. 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5).[8]

Fig. 5.2 Cuirassed statue from Butrint signed by Sosicles (IA)

An exceptionally fine head of Apollo, of the so-called Antium type, was also discovered within the theatre, suggesting a deliberate link with the victory at Actium through the depiction of the patron deity of Nicopolis (Fig. 4.9). This head was associated by Ugolini with a draped figure in the so-called Nemesis of Rhamnus type, also from the theatre area, and nicknamed the Goddess of Butrint (Fig. 5.5).[9] It was initially thought that the group of larger figures was displayed in the niches of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre, with smaller ones possibly in niches on an upper storey.[10] However, recently it has been proposed that these statues were moved into the theatre from elsewhere. This hypothesis is becoming more plausible, not least because of the archaeological condition in which they were found and the unusually small size of the niches on the *scaenae frons*, which do not seem capable of accommodating the large statues.[11]

Elsewhere at Butrint, other excavations undertaken by the Italian Archaeological Mission also led to the recovery of a number of important sculptural pieces. The Lion Gate, excavated on the north side of the city (cf. Fig. 1.3), takes its name from an archaic relief used as a lintel, depicting a lion devouring a bull's head.[12] The relief is made of local limestone and, on stylistic grounds, is dated to the last quarter of the 6th century BC. Most probably, the relief comes from a gateway, possibly even the Lion Gate itself before its reconfiguration in late antiquity, and is very unlikely to have come from a temple as was once thought.[13] Near the monumental Tower Gate, in the brick-built basin of a Roman *nymphaeum,* statues of Dionysus and Apollo were found (Figs. 5.6 and 5.7). These both appear to date to the 2nd century AD, and though somewhat uneven in style they complement each other well. These were presumably set within the niches on the rear wall of the nymphaeum.[14]

From across the Vivari Channel on the Vrina Plain, a relief depicting Nike by a trophy was found in 1930 (Fig. 4.10).[15] Ugolini dated the work to the 5th century BC and variously proposed that it might have ended up at Butrint from a shipwreck, that it was bought by Atticus to adorn his nearby villa, and that it was taken from elsewhere in Greece by Augustus in order to embellish the re-founded city, as suggested by Pausanias for Nicopolis and Patras.[16] The relief seems to fit better within the category of archaising and classicizing works popular during the late Republic and early Empire, and though it could have formed part of a balustrade or freeze of a private villa, the size of the piece (*c*. 0.80 × 0.50 m) suggests that is may have decorated a public building.[17]

The finds from the Italian excavations were displayed in a purpose-built museum and storeroom reconstructed from the castellan's palace on the acropolis hill of Butrint. The museum was opened to the public in 1938. Since then the sculptures have had various 'destinies'. Some pieces were moved to the National Museum in Tirana, others stayed in Butrint. Some were lent abroad in 1940 and may have been destroyed by Allied bombing during 1943.[18]

New campaigns of excavations began after 1960. Agricultural work on the Vrina Plain led to the discovery of many sculptural pieces, most importantly at the site of the Temple, described by Andrew Crowson and Oliver Gilkes in the volume. Here the 1988 investigations recovered a male portrait head as well as a number of large fragments mainly of sarcophagi.[19] The portrait, designed for insertion into a statue, depicts a bearded man in the manner of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 8.8).[20] The over life-size marble head was found in several joining fragments but never restored. Two fragments forming the main part of the face are now lost. Within

Butrint, the area west of the theatre, including the *prytaneum*, was investigated by Dhimosten Budina in 1964–65. Here a portrait bust of a young man came to light, discovered reused as *spolia* in a medieval wall (Fig. 5.8).[21] The portrait bears a remarkable likeness to Antinous, the Bithyan favourite of Hadrian. This has full and idealised features, a dramatic turn of the head, and, in particular, a mass of textured hair, as well as vivacious and articulate locks forming soft J-like curves covering his whole head and ears, characteristic of the portrait representations of Antinous. The prominent S-like curl over the forehead of the Butrint figure is unusual, though a comparison may be found in the treatment of the forehead locks on a diademed head of Antinous from Ostia, now in the Therme collection at Palazzo Masssimo in Rome.[22]

In 2005, another togate figure was discovered at Butrint, which with the monumental statue represents the only *togati* from this site (Fig. 5.9).[23] The marble statue is a life-size standing figure designed with an inset head and left hand, both of which are unfortunate now missing. It was found deposited within a drain near the Forum at Butrint, and hence may, like the monumental statue, be associated with this public area of the city, though its original location cannot be determined (cf. Fig. 5.10). The carving is of very high quality; the shape of the base and the composition of the statue seem to indicate that it originally stood within a niche. The figure wears an imperial style toga with a long *sinus* and semi-circular *umbo*, and can be dated to the mid-2nd century.

The sculptures discovered in Butrint – both those mentioned above and in general – represent examples of provincial art of an extremely good quality. Many of the statues found are carved in marble from the Greek islands or in Italian Luna marble. Very few sculptures in limestone have been found, and many of the sculptures were clearly imported from elsewhere, in particular Attica and Rome. In the corpus, Roman sculpture of the first two centuries AD predominates in Butrint. Portraits are

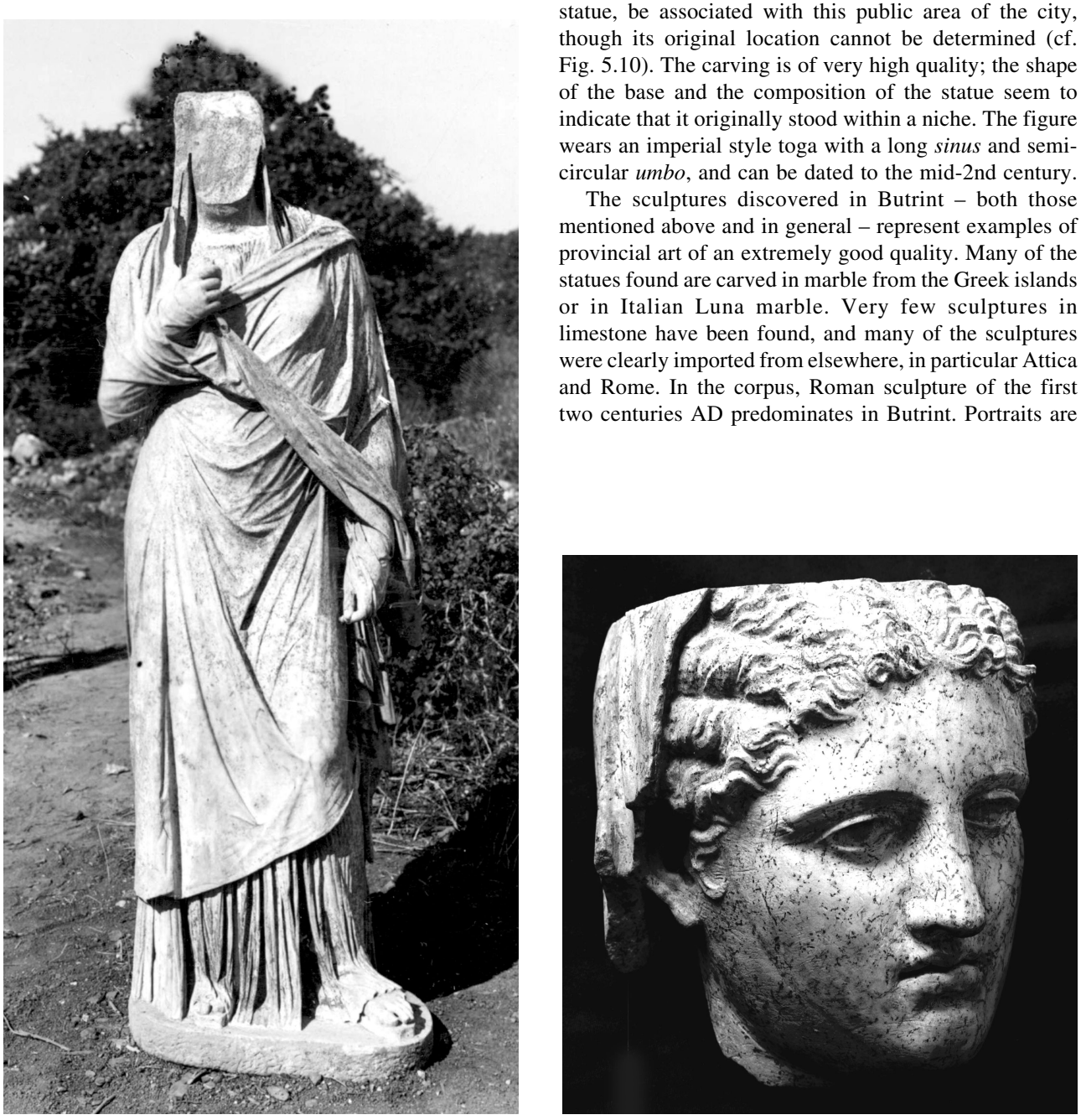

Fig. 5.3a (left) and 5.3b (right) Body and face of statue in the Large Herculaneum type (IA)

Fig. 5.4 Draped female statue found near the theatre (IA)

Fig. 5.5 The so-called 'Goddess of Butrint' (IA)

well represented, whereas relief works are almost non-existent.

The discovery and archaeological context of the monumental togate statue

The statue was discovered in September 2002, in an area to the east the theatre and immediately in front of the Tripartite building in what is now known to be the Roman Forum (Fig. 5.10). The proximity to the Tripartite building, and hence the find spot of the dedication to Minerva Augusta (discussed by John Patterson in this volume), as well as the unusual shape of the figure initially led the Butrint National Park authorities to identify the statue as a depiction of the goddess Minerva. Unfortunately, no records were kept of the excavation of the statue and its archaeological context.

The site had been surveyed by the Italian Mission in the 1930's, but excavations were undertaken only in 1982 by the Institute of Archaeology.[24] Prior to the discovery of the statue, the area had been surveyed and recorded by the Butrint Foundation in 2002, and, in order to reconstruct the lost archaeological detail, limited excavation was undertaken in 2004.[25] The statue's relationship to the Tripartite building is undoubtedly interesting if not as yet entirely clear. A Hellenistic structure, possibly

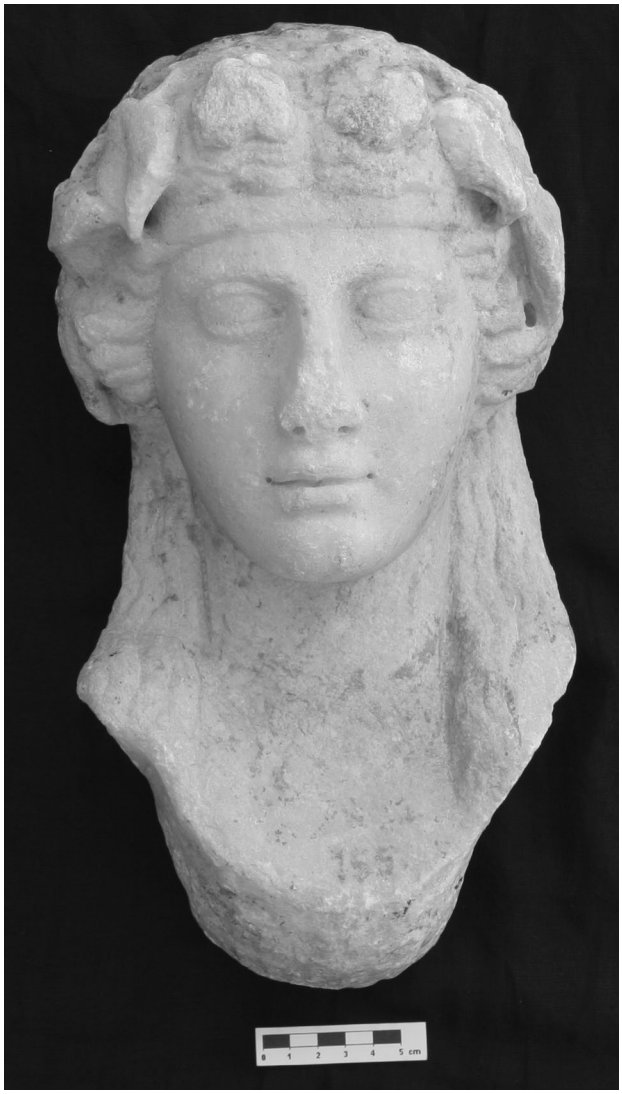

Fig. 5.6 Head of Dionysus from the Tower Gate nymphaeum (BF, photo by M. Grayley)

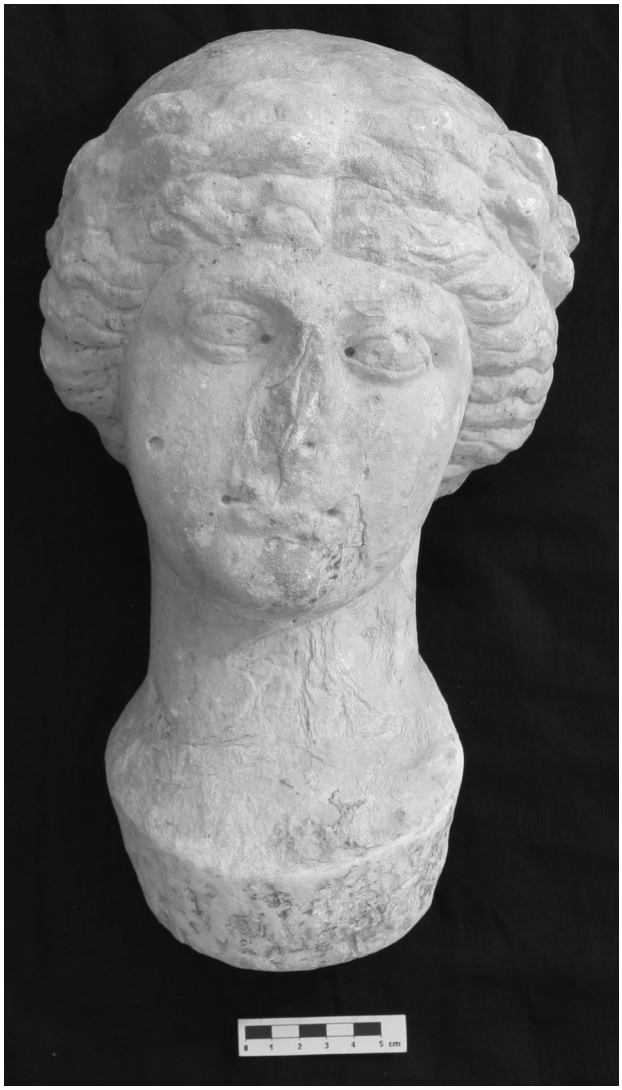

Fig. 5.7 Head of Apollo from the Tower Gate nymphaeum (BF, photo by M. Grayley)

related to cult practises was subdivided and remodelled during the Roman Empire into what appears to be a series of small shrines. It is possible that one of these was the shrine to Minerva Augusta dedicated by M. Otacilius Mystes, as suggested by the discovery of fragments of this inscription used as *spolia* in the central of these rooms.[26] However, more significant for the understanding of the statue is the recent discovery of part of the limestone pavement of belonging to the Forum. This confirms the hypothesis about its location, first proposed by Luigi Maria Ugolini.[27] The type and layout of the Forum flagstones are strikingly similar to those to the west in front of the *prytaneum* and suggests that the two areas should be interpreted in conjunction. On the edge of the Forum pavement, in front of the Tripartite building, part of a large rectangular brick structure was discovered, which may have served as a base for a statuary group. Given the monumental size of the figure, and its probable imperial identity, it is likely that the *togatus* figure was originally associated with the Forum square, either displayed in the square itself or within a building facing on to it. The statue is less well articulated at the rear, and it may have been designed to stand within an apse or niche.

The statue was discovered lying between the Tripartite building and the so-called peristyle building within a small alley running from the Forum to a rock-cut well at the foot of the acropolis hill (cf. Fig. 2.9). Finds from the original excavation trench included a life-size bronze finger and a small female head from a late-2nd or 3rd-century marble relief. It is possible that this area – like the theatre – functioned as a deposit for sculpture, though the mixed nature of the deposit could also have been caused by later terracing. Of great interest is the discovery

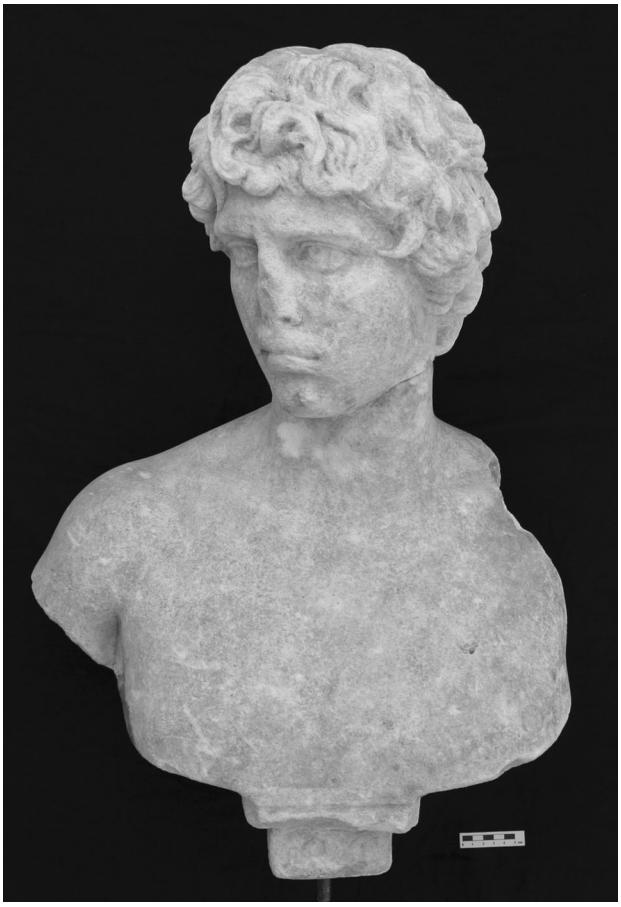

Fig. 5.8 Portrait bust of Antinous? from the prytaneum (BF, photo by M. Grayley)

of an extensive deposit of marble chippings – many of which are drapery fragments – suggesting that the monumental statue was reworked on the spot where it was found and in close proximity to its original location.

The reworking process

The somewhat curious aspect that the figure now presents is due to two separate reworking attempts – both abandoned in their initial stages. The chisel marks covering the surface of the statue are distinctive in appearing rather fresh by cleanly revealing the white of the marble. However, it is obviously a particular feature of the conservation of marble *spolia* at Butrint; a trait noted by Ugolini, which can also be observed on recut architectural pieces found during the recent archaeological excavations at the Roman villa-site of Diaporit. Why the figure was selected for this extensive alteration is uncertain. Though other sculptural finds from Butrint appear to have suffered deliberate attempts at breaking them down, none show efforts to reconfigure them as sculptural pieces.[28] It is possible that the statue was somehow damaged accidentally – but irreparably – and the re-carving was an attempt at maintaining some sculptural integrity, or alternatively the sheer volume of marble may simply have represented a valuable material source to be reused.[29] In the first attempt the surface seems to have been extensively re-carved with a pointed chisel, almost entirely obliterating the original statue in the process. The intention appears to have been to transform the statue into a smaller, life-size figure by

Fig. 5.9 Life-size togate statue from Butrint (BF, photo by M. Grayley)

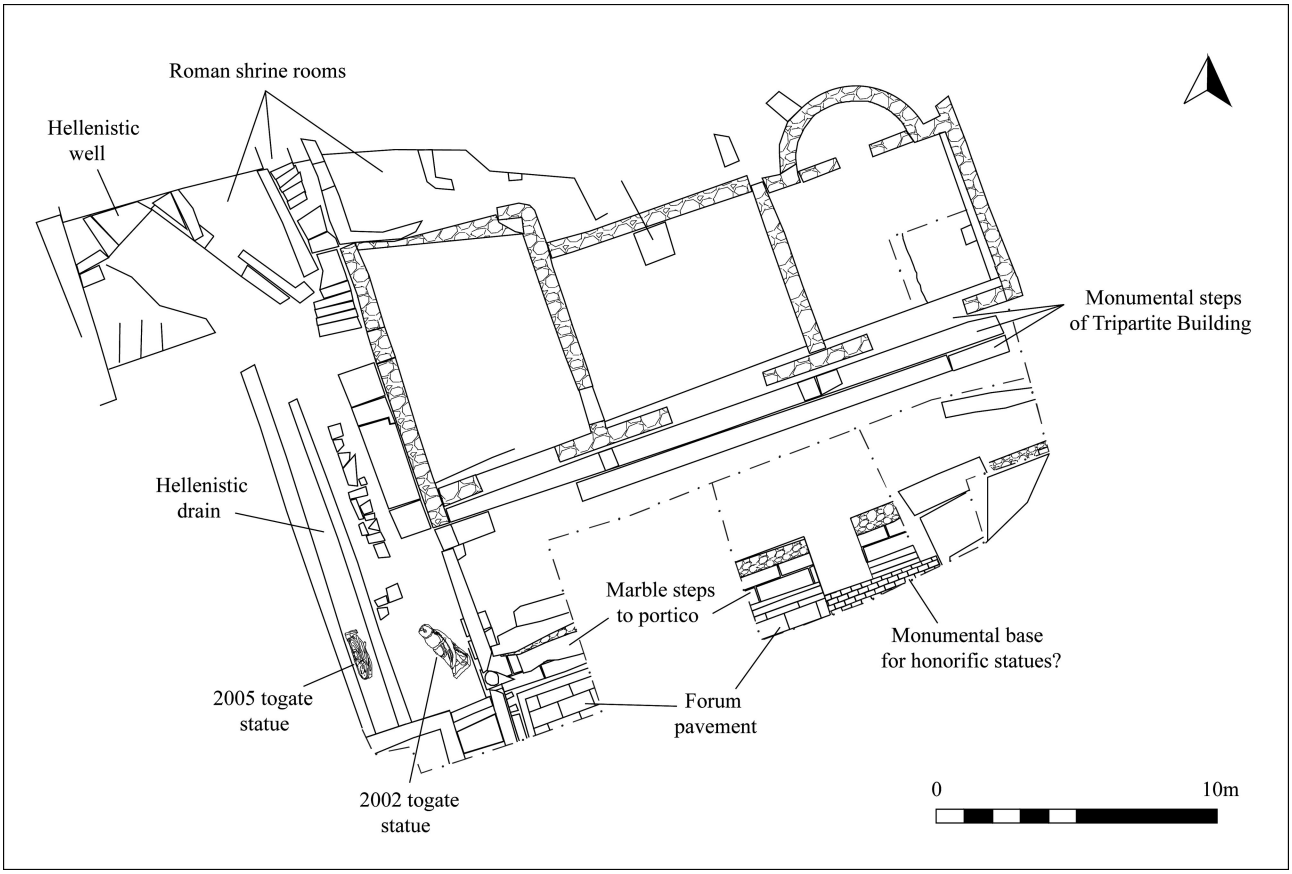

Fig. 5.10 Plan of the area of the Forum and tripartite building, showing the find spot of the monumental togate statue (BF)

reducing its size. Hence, drapery folds were smoothed down, areas of large volume (notably the left side of the figure and associated drapery) were cut away, and the overall volume of the figure reduced in size. The latter is most clearly evident in the feet of the figure, which have been cut back in length and volume (cf. Fig. 5.11). The reduction in size may indicate that the original head was missing at this time. The reworking was abandoned, probably due to the complexity of the task – certainly the emphatic presence of the lower right leg and knee in the composition of the original statue had implications for the overall proportions that were not easily resolved. The second attempt instead focussed only on the upper part of the statue; that is, from the throat to the waist. The intention at this point appears to have been to reduce the statue to a bust. The shoulders of the original statue were cut away and a domed shape was carved from the central chest area of the statue in preparation for use as the head of the bust. The curvature of the original waist and hips was fashioned to form the outline of shoulders. Lastly, a wide-edge chisel was used to create a deep, broad band at the mid-thigh height of the original statue as a first step in detaching the bust. This second reworking was not completed, and the statue was abandoned in the state in which it now appears.

The date of these two reworkings is hard to determine. Associated with the layer of marble chippings presumed to belong to the process of reconfiguring the statue was a vast amount of amphora sherds datable to the first half of the 3rd century, and it is possible that the re-sculpting took place in this period or shortly afterwards.

Reconstructing the original statue

Despite the two attempts at reworking, the figure retains enough of its original aspect to permit a description and a tentative reconstruction. The surviving figure is 1.98 m high, and is carved from a single piece of Pentelic marble. It represents the lower torso from the approximately the middle of the chest, and the legs and feet of a standing male figure. The shoulders, arms, upper chest, and throat area have all been cut away. Its original height, including the head, would, in other words have been over 2.5 m – probably around 2.7 m. The figure is depicted standing with the weight on his left leg; the right foot is placed slightly further back than the left, and the leg is bent at

Fig. 5.11 Detail of the feet of the monumental statue (ICAA)

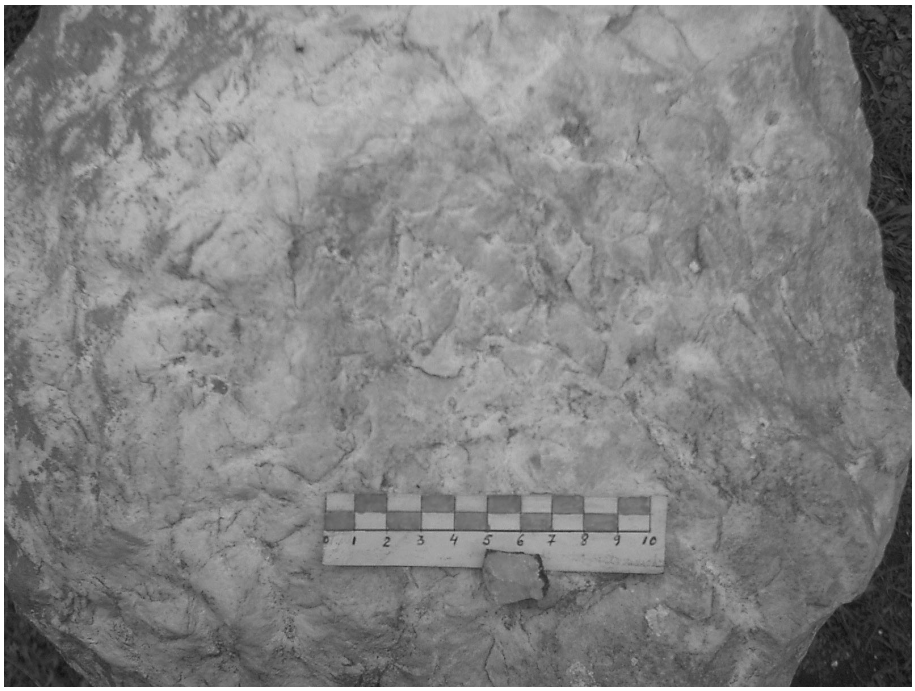

Fig. 5.12 Detail of the remains of the mortise for the inset head (ICAA)

the knee in a semi-walking pose with the heel of the foot raised off the ground. The figure wears, as will be discussed below, what appears to be a Republican style toga *exigua* without *sinus*, and patrician shoes. The statue originally had an inset head as evidenced by the shallow indent, at what is now the very top of the figure, representing the base of the mortise fixing the head in place (Fig. 5.12). No head was found in the excavations that may be linked to the statue. The figure is standing on a plinth measuring 74 × 54 × 14 cm. However, this has been broken along the right edge and is cut (chiselled) along the left and along the front, and hence the present aspect of this, too, is part of the reconfiguring of the statue. A surviving original element is the rectangular

mortise and (partial) metallic mordant – situated roughly below the heel of the figure's right foot – that would have fixed the plinth itself in place.

As noted above, the recutting was less extensive on the lower part of the figure, and here the outline of the toga, the arrangement of certain drapery folds as well as details of the shoes can still be discerned. Still clearly visible is the outline of the lower hem, falling in a curved diagonal from the height of the left knee to the right ankle, which denotes the garment as being a Roman toga. The toga is relatively short, leaving the feet and the lower left leg clearly visible, and providing an indication of the late Republican date of the work. On the figure's left, the *lacinia* folds fall in a vertical mass of drapery on the outside of the left foot, highlighting the statue's footwear and emphasising the walking pose. On his feet the figure wears patrician shoes, *calcei patricii*, evident from the double crossing of bands around the ankles (Fig. 5.11).[30] None of the laces (*corrigiae*) now survive, but the shoes were clearly well articulated, and both the bands tied around the lower leg, and those crisscrossing above the foot, are detailed in sculptural form. Of the original toga various elements can still be seen. On the front, drapery folds associated with the curving outline of the hem can be discerned (Fig. 5.13). Only the lower part of these folds now survive, but despite the reduction of surface articulation produced by the recutting their arrangement is easily distinguishable. A series of folds fan out across the lower legs and thighs from the level of the right foot, terminating at around waist-level in an arched succession of fine folds that must represent the bunching together of material between the waist and left elbow (cf. Fig. 5.1). The shallow V-shaped fold visible at the top of what remains of the figure marks the lower point of the neckline folds. The outer part of the right leg has been cut back and it is not possible to determine exactly the relationship of drapery folds around the figure (Fig. 5.14). However, at the rear of the leg and hips, an area of original drapery folds has been left intact. These folds fall in broad, soft bands carved with great skill and an eye for texture. The wide sweeping movements of the folds follow the movement of the slightly bent leg, and, significantly, run in an uninterrupted series of lines from the waist to the ankle. In other words, the drapery corresponds to a single layer of fabric without an overlay of a *sinus*, and hence provides the main evidence for reconstructing the toga as a *toga exigua*. On the rear, the folds continue to approximately the mid-point of the back of the figure, after which they have been entirely cut away leaving only the lower line of the toga discernable (Fig. 5.15). The extensive recutting of the left side of the figure is related to reducing the volume originally created

Fig. 5.13 The monumental statue, front (ICAA)

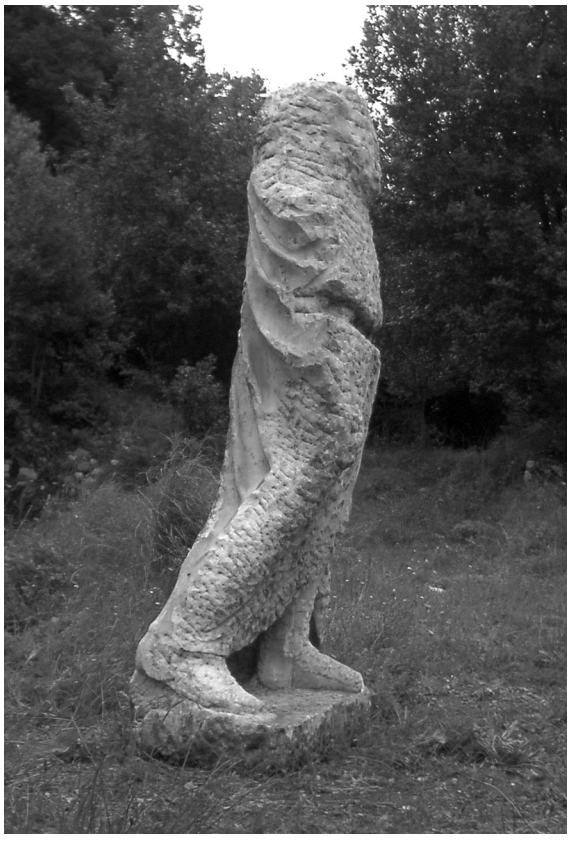

Fig. 5.14 The monumental statue, right side (ICAA)

by the thick mass of folds falling from the outer left side of the figure. The sheer mass of material at this point – evident still by the awkwardness of the recutting – provides a good indication that the figure was originally depicted with the left arm bent at the elbow, from which the outer part of the toga folds would cascade in a vertical form (Fig. 5.16). The termination of these folds, the *lacinia*, is still evident when viewing the figure from the front. A rounded object below these vertical folds may indicate that the support for the statue was intended as a *scrinium*, a box for book scrolls, though essentially the support was created from the mass of drapery itself.

The analysis of the surviving drapery folds, in other words, indicates that the style of the toga can confidently be identified as a short Republican *toga exigua* without *sinus* or *umbo*. Though the exact arrangement of the drapery folds on the upper part of the body and the arrangement of the arms must necessarily remain hypothetical, initial reconstructions can be attempted. As shown by the studies by Hans Rupprect Goette, and by Diana and Fred Kleiner, the overwhelmingly most common toga type during the late Republic is that of the arm sling, or *pallium*, type.[31] In this the right arm is bent at the elbow and held close to the chest, and enveloped by the toga with only the hand emerging from the sling-like folds draped around the shoulders. The left arm most often rests at the side of the body with a slight bend at the elbow to control the hanging ends of the garment. Figure 5.17, a statue presently in Copenhagen, is a good example of the type.[32] The Copenhagen statue shares many characteristics with the Butrint figure, not the least the arrangement of the *licinia* folds, which hang down alongside the body without covering the feet, and the distinct articulation of the right bent leg. There is also an emphasis on the movement of the underlying body in the regular arrangement of broad, shallow folds, and the fan of long regular lines running from the left hip to the feet. This type has been dated to the third quarter of the 1st century BC. Indeed, as the recent analyses of the sculptural material from Nicopolis has shown, the *pallium*-style toga is the type worn by the senators depicted on the victory monument as participating in the triumph of Octavian in 29 BC (Fig. 5.18).[33] However, as Diana and Fred Kleiner have pointed out, the type continues in use into the early Augustan period – that is, after the Augustan reconfiguring of the toga to its developed imperial form – and can be found also on the reliefs on the Ara Pacis Augustae (13–9 BC).[34] The continued popularity of the type is undoubtedly related to the calm, contained quality of its composition, effectively embodying Republican social and moral values.[35] Another possible reconstruction of the upper part of the Butrint

Fig. 5.15 The monumental statue, rear (ICAA)

Fig. 5.16 The monumental statue, left side (ICAA)

figure is exemplified in a togate statue from Seville, also dated to the third quarter of the 1st century BC (Fig. 5.19).[36] Overall the toga is wrapped around the lower body in the same manner as the Copenhagen statue, and as found on the Butrint togatus, but instead of an arm sling, the toga folds are arranged in a diagonal crossband (*balteus*) that leaves the right arm free and reveal the shoulder and sleeve of the tunic worn below the toga. Apart from the *licinia* covering the lower leg and ankle, the Seville statue is compositionally similar to the Butrint figure in its arrangement of folds along the front and lower right leg, its semi-walking pose, and in the position hypothesised for the left arm. As the three-quarter rear view of the Butrint statue shows (Fig. 5.14), the severe recutting of the area above the right hip makes it impossible to ascertain if the configuration of the toga originally included a *balteus* band encircling the torso at this point. This type is dated to the same period as the arm sling type, but is relatively rare in the archaeological record.[37] With its right arm unconfined by the drapery,

Fig. 5.17 (left) Togate statue presently in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek)

Fig. 5.18 (below) Relief from Nicopolis (with permission from the 12th Ephoria, Ioannina)

Fig. 5.19 Togate statue from Seville (after Goette 1990)

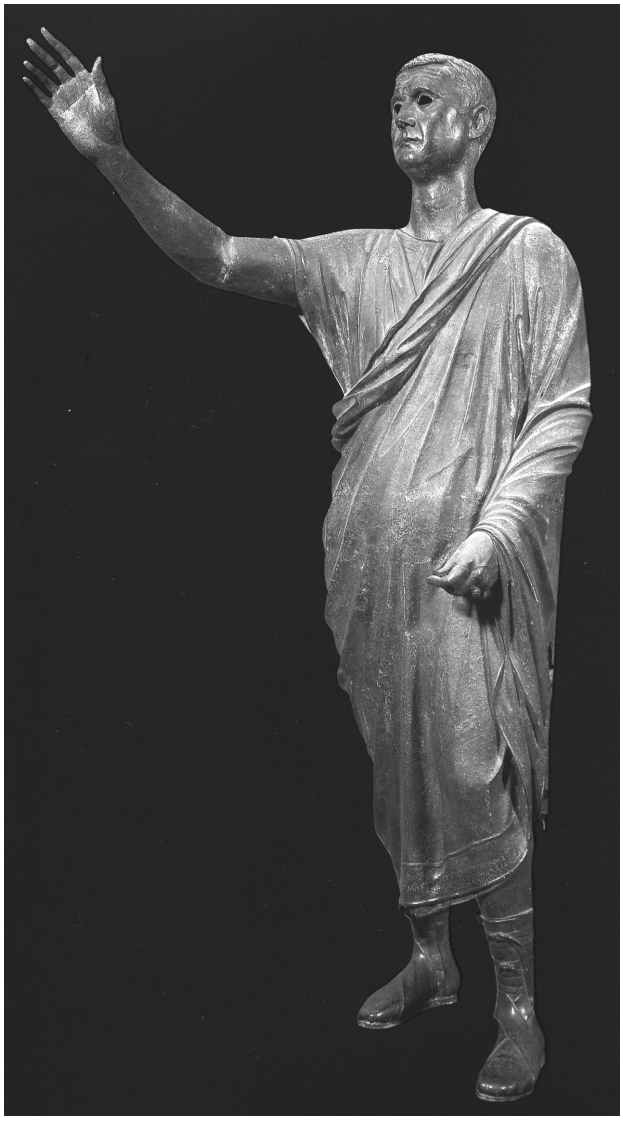

Fig. 5.20 The so-called 'arringatore' statue (after La Regina 1992)

the arrangement is associated with religious acts and oratory, as exemplified by the sacrificing priest in the relief often known as the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus and by the so-called 'arringatore' bronze statue in Florence (Fig. 5.20).[38]

A recent find associated with the monumental statue raises the possibility that the *balteus* type, as embodied in the Seville statue, may, in fact, be the better reconstruction model. Within the layer of marble chippings, two substantial, joining marble fragments were found forming the shoulder of a monumental draped figure. The marble appears to be Pentelic, and though chemical analysis has not yet been undertaken to compare the shoulder part and the statue, find spot, size and material would indicate that they are related. The pieces represent a right shoulder with sleeve and upper arm – the arm itself being attached with a substantial dowel. Remarkably the arm is raised up in a gesture of public address, similar to the oratorical gesture in the 'arringatore' statue or the *adlocutio* gesture common in cuirassed statues. The gesture is rare in togate statues and apart from the Republican 'arringatore' figure, only one other figure is presently known: a mid 1st-century AD marble statue from Mérida.[39] Should the shoulder fragment, as we believe, belong to the monumental togate figure this clearly has implications for our understanding of the figure. First of all, it affects the arrangement of the upper part of the toga making a *pallium* type impossible. Instead, it suggests that the *balteus* model is the better reconstruction for the original aspect of the monumental statue. Secondly, the extrovert stance combined with the monumental size and its association with the Forum

provides compelling reasons for interpreting this statue as an imperial figure.

Identification of the monumental statue – a recognized imperial personality?

Given the state of its preservation, and the lack of an associated portrait head, any identification of the statue must necessarily be conjectural. However, the statue's overall appearance is of a high-ranking Roman male figure. In particular, the monumental size and patrician shoes, the *calcei patricii*, denote not just social rank but also political status, and there is no doubt that the monumental *togatus* originally represented a major political figure for Butrint.[40]

As noted already, Butrint had a strong and vigorous tradition of portrait dedications to individuals intimately connected to the rule in Rome. To this can be added the honorific dedications made to patrons and benefactors of the city, known through the epigraphic record, in particular T. Pomponius Atticus and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.[41] The decisively Roman appearance of the statue, as well as its association with the Forum, may indicate that the statue was a dedication by the city, rather than an individual, as a visual representation of the new 'Romanized' Butrint and of the links between the new civic elite and Rome itself. Indeed, these aspects are also the strongest indications that the person depicted was not a local dignitary but a person politically powerful in Rome.

The date suggested by the use of the *toga exigua* style in the light of the colonial history of Butrint may provide the strongest indications for the identity of the statue. As Elizabeth Deniaux has shown, the process of 'colonisation' of Butrint was not smooth, despite the local elite of the Hellenistic city clearly being on good terms with Romans who had interests in the area, in particular Atticus.[42] Hence, it would seem unlikely that a statue on this scale was erected to a Roman individual prior to the foundation of the Caesarian colony in 44 BC. Indeed, given that the settlement took place after the death of Caesar, and was developed during the uncertain triumviral period, it would seem equally doubtful that such a monumental dedication should belong even to the first decade of the Roman city. However, with the principate of Augustus and the refoundation of Butrint in the period immediately post-Actium a new impetus and, importantly, a new focus of loyalty were provided for the city. The statue, in other words, can most likely be dated to the period after 31 BC. This leaves a limited number of possibilities for identification.

As is evident from the names of the *duoviri* given on the coins of Roman Butrint, those related to Atticus – and hence to Agrippa, his then son-in-law – gain significant positions in the Augustan city.[43] One possibility is that the statue represented an acknowledgement of this patronage, and that the choice of a togate statue-type was to highlight this aspect. However, the gesture with its extrovert, politicised associations seems to ill fit the public image of Atticus, not the least since a statue to him at this time would have been a posthumous depiction. Similarly, one might expect the successful general Agrippa to have appeared cuirassed rather than togate so soon after the Actium victory. Another important patron to Butrint was L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was honoured with just this title in 16 BC.[44] Despite the relative longevity of the Republican *toga exigua* type, it would seem extremely unlikely that a person as closely connected to the imperial house as L. D. Ahenobarbus would have appeared in a deliberately 'archaic' manner and not in the style of the restyled Augustan toga.

Altogether, this would indicate that far the best identification of the monumental statue is that it originally depicted Octavian/Augustus in his capacity as the re-founder of Butrint and successor of Caesar. Though there is no explicit use of victorious or militaristic elements in the figure, the size, gesture and location of the figure would implicitly have associated it with the victory at Actium. The dedication not only established an important link for Butrint to Rome and the patronage of the *princeps* and his general, it also linked Butrint to the new city of Nicopolis to the south, emphasising it as part of a new axis of influence in the Ionian and on the littoral route between Italy and Greece.

Conclusion

The monumental togate statue is a remarkable piece. Accepting the proposal that it originally depicted Octavian/Augustus the figure must have been erected soon after the Actium victory, undoubtedly in conjunction with the creation of the *tropaeum* monument at Nicopolis. As noted above, the tradition of an imperial portrait group at Butrint has long been confirmed by the finds from the theatre. The discovery of the monumental statue not only belongs to this same tradition, but also reinforces the date attributed to them as being soon after Actium.[45] Many togate statues have been discovered in the Greece but only few that adopt the Republican toga style.[46] The combination of the impetus provided by the Actian victory and the strong client base belonging to Atticus/Agrippa are the most forceful arguments explaining the motivation for the imperial dedications a Butrint.

With future excavations the original location of the monumental togate statue may be establish with more certainty. However, it seems plausible to associate it with the adornment of the forum square of the city. That is, the statue must be read in conjunction with the physical and symbolic changes made to the city to articulate its new Roman identity. Similarly, the two reworking attempts provide important evidence for the approach to official sculpture at a moment of transition – possibly even of dramatic change – at which the layout of the city and its public spaces were reconfigured.

Appendix: Examples of togate statues from Apollonia

Several examples of togate figures, dating from the 1st to the 3rd century AD, have been found in Apollonia. The city is one of the most important ancient Greek colonial settlements in Albania, and Octavian studied there for six months in 44 BC. Even under the Empire, Apollonia remained *civitas libera e immunis* and Greek was the official language.

Large-scale excavations directed by the French archaeologist, Leon Rey, were undertaken between 1924–1938. During the excavation on the Large Stoa at Apollonia a statue of a municipal figure came to light. Leon Rey writes in his notes: "*En dehor de la niche 6 et contre le pilier nr.5, on a découvert une statute de marbre blanc, representant un personnage municipal, revêtu non pas de la grande toge romaine mais de la toge étroite qui rappele le manteau drappé des Grecs.*" As Rey noted, the figure wears not a toga but a *pallium,* the Greek *himation*, which by the first century BC had become fashionable for officials and important men of letters. Despite the Greek cultural emphasis of the city togate representations were used in Apollonia, as shown by the 1927 find of a young man. The statue is now lost, but photographs indicate that the toga was close in type to another statue from Apollonia, currently in Tirana. The latter depicts a bearded man of Antonine date, wearing an imperial style toga with a deep *sinus* and U-shaped *umbo*.[47] The figure is often known as Commodus though the portrait type is closer to that of Marcus Aurelius. Identifying the individual represented in this manner is complicated by lack of accompanying epigraphic evidence and intact heads; indeed, at Apollonia statues may have had a long period of use for at times a surviving head is a replacement of that originally designed for the figure.[48] However, in Apollonia, as elsewhere in the Roman Empire, portraits of *togati*, most likely represented distinguished individuals of the city or the Empire. A further two togate statues have been discovered at Apollonia, both found close to the western *Bouleuterion* wall.[49] The two statues were excavated at a distance of approximately 2 m from each other, and associated archaeologically with a group of sculptures of Severan date (193–235 AD). However, the assemblage may be a secondary deposit, for the two togate figures were sliced diagonally into numerous fragments, presumably to facilitate delivery to the lime kiln – and it is possible that all these statues may have been gathered in preparation for breaking down.[50] Reworking attempts may explain the condition of a togate statue found in 1916 at the Pojani Monastery, which has a deep horizontal cavity across the chest level, slightly removed from the spot where the bent forearm should have been. Stylistically this figure is similar to a sixth togate statue discovered at Apollonia, which schematic and motionless drapery folds may suggest a late date.[51]

Notes

1 In June 2003, the monumental togate statue was the focus of an international workshop seminar on Roman Butrint. Many of the conclusions presented in this paper stem from the ideas and discussions during this event. I would like to extend my thanks to all the international and Albanian experts who contributed to this seminar, as well as to Dhimitër Çondi who excavated the Tripartite building and to Henner von Hesberg for his support and comments on an earlier version of this paper.

2 A full catalogue of the sculpture from Butrint is in press, prepared by Vassiliki Gagaddis-Robin and Iris Pojani. For broad discussions of the sculptural material, see Bergemann 1998: 126–61; Rose 1997: 136; Ugolini 1942: 86–89, 113–15, 169–78; Ugolini and Pojani 2003; Vermeule 1968: 173–77.

3 In the last decade, two thefts during the transition to democracy in 1991 deprived the collections of the Butrint, Apollonia and Durrës Museums of a number of archaeological objects. Government institutions are striving to ensure the return of these objects and the first successes in this direction have been achieved. In 2001, the portrait head of Livia discovered by Ugolini was returned to Albania and is now displayed in the Butrint Museum. The head was stolen in 1991 and appeared on the international art market; its identification and recovery was accomplished by the assistance of Elizabeth Bartman and Charles Brian Rose. Due to efforts of the Albanian and Greek authorities, the Butrint Foundation, and Konstantinos Zachos and the 12th Ephorate at Ioannina, three sculptural pieces looted from the Butrint museum was returned in 2003. The works are part of a group of six marble sculptures from Butrint seized by the Greek authorities; the return of the last three are awaiting the verdict of the court case. Most recently, in December 2005, the marble head of Asclepius/Zeus found near the theatre at Butrint was identified as being in Italy. It is with some pleasure that we note that in this, the Italian authorities were assisted by recent Butrint Foundation publications, like Gilkes 2003 and the website detailing the sculptures stolen from Butrint: http://www.icaa.org.al/missingantiquities.

4 Gilkes 2003.

5 Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 199, 212.

6 Bergemann 1998; 133–4; Stemmer 1978: 139–40; Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 226–7, 233–5; Vermeule 1959: 40, no. 49.

7 Bergemann 1998: 135, 141, 151; Ugolini 1937: 144–46; Ugolini and Pojani 2003 228–32.

8 Bartman 1999: 169–70; Bergemann 1998: 126–32; Rose 1997: 136; Ugolini 1932; Ugolini 1937: 142–4; Ugolini and Pojani 2003: 215–18, 224–6.

9 Bergemann 1998: 138–40. Ugolini 1937: 137–42. Only the head now survives and the relationship cannot be tested, on this see Bergemann 1998: 138–40 and Trimble 2001.

10 See, for instance, the assessment at the time of excavation detailed in Ugolini and Pojani 2003, as well as the reconstruction drawings by Carlo Ceschi, reproduced in Gilkes 2003: figs 6.78 and 6.79.

11 See Gilkes in Wilkes 2003: 177–8 and Hodges and Hansen in this volume.

12 Ugolini 1937: 83–84, 119–21, fig. 45.

13 Ugolini 1942: 61–63. For the later fortification works at Butrint, see Andrews et al. 2004.
14 For illustrations of the figures, complete with inset heads, see Ugolini 1937: 150–1 and Ugolini 1942: 81–90, esp. figs 87 and 89. The body of Dionysus is among the sculptures still awaiting return from Greece.
15 AA.VV. 1988: 242, no. 110 (N. Ceka); Ugolini 1934; Ugolini 1937: 127–30, fig. 75; Ugolini 1942: 169–72; see also the contribution by Hansen in this volume. Ugolini (1937: 127) states that the Parian marble relief was found at the mouth of the river near the Vivari fishery, and dates it to the second half of the 5th century BC.
16 Pausanias 7.18.8–9.
17 The late Republican/early Imperial date for the relief has been suggested by Fuchs 1989, as well as by several members of the 2003 workshop seminar and I am grateful to the participants for sharing this information. See also Hansen in this volume.
18 See Gilkes 2002; Gilkes 2003, as well as the details on individual pieces on: http://www.icaa.org.al/missingantiquities.
19 Çondi 1988. See also the discussion of some of these pieces included in Crowson and Gilkes in this volume.
20 Tirana Archaeological Museum, MA 1450; date around 170 AD. See also the description of this piece in the contribution by Crowson and Gilkes in this volume.
21 AA.VV. 1985: 92, no. 352; Budina 1971; Budina 1988.
22 Meyer 1991: 74–75, no. I53, see also page 86–87, no. I65 for a portrait in the Vatican (Museo Chiaramonti 625). For a recent discussion of the identification of portraits of Antinous, see Vout 2005.
23 Hansen forthcoming; Hodges and Hansen 2005.
24 Çondi 1990.
25 The excavations in the Forum area are still on-going and hence the results presented here cannot be more than preliminary.
26 See the contribution by Patterson in this volume.
27 Hernandez and Çondi forthcoming; Ugolini 1937: 45; Ugolini 1942: 46.
28 On the conservation and archaeological context of the sculptures from the theatre, see Gilkes 2003: 177–8 and Ugolini 2003.
29 On the problems of the abandonment of the statues and the possibility of Butrint having suffered a major earthquake, see Gilkes 2003: 177–8; and Hodges and Hansen in this volume.
30 Goette 1988: 449–57
31 Goette 1990: 24–26, type Ab; Kleiner and Kleiner 1980–81.
32 Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (inv. I.N. 1956), acquired in Rome. Goette 1990: no. Ab 39 pl. 2.4; Johansen 1994: 82–3; Kleiner and Kleiner 1980–81: 132 no. 4.
33 Zachos 2003: 90–2, fig. 39. My thanks to Konstantinos Zachos for allowing me to include an illustration of the relief fragment here.
34 Kleiner and Kleiner 1980–81: 126.
35 A point raised also by Goette (1990: 24–25) and Wrede 1995: 127.
36 Seville Museo Arqueològico (Inv. 748), see Garcìa y Bellido 1949: 185, no. 208, pl. 153; Goette 1990: 107, no. Aa 20, pl. 1.5, as well as pages 22–23 for the suggestion that it may have depicted Augustus (based on its height of 1.93 m and its unusual support).
37 Goette 1990: 22–23, type Aa.
38 Kleiner 1992: 33–34, 49–51.
39 Mérida Museum (Inv 94), the statue is dated to late Claudian/Neronian period. Garcìa y Bellido 1949: 184, no. 207; Goette 1990: 128, no. Ba 304. My thanks to Amanda Claridge for assistance with the recently discovered shoulder fragment and for drawing my attention to the Mérida statue.
40 There is some evidence that high-ranking persons in provincial towns, too, could wear patrician shoes: their local status being equalled to that of a patrician in Rome, cf. Goette 1988: 456 and note 251.
41 For the dedication to Atticus, see Bergemann 1998, fig. 37; de Franciscis 1941: 281 no. 5. For that to L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*c*. 16 AD), see Bergemann 1998, 48; and Deniaux in this volume. Also Germanicus (12–13 AD) was awarded an honorific position in Butrint, if not a statue, see Pollo 1989: 127; Pollo 1990. Pollo suggested that the portrait head found near the inscription, depicted Germanicus; however, it has now been established as representing Agrippa (cf. Fig. 4.6), cf. Bergemann 1998: 161, fig. 76a–c.
42 Deniaux 1987; 1988; and in this volume.
43 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 277.
44 For the inscription naming him "patron of the colony", see note 41. For the influence of the family in the Adriatic and Ionian, see Deniaux 1999.
45 Bartman 1999: 169–70; Rose 1997: 136.
46 Havé-Nikolaus 1998, see page 118–20 for an example from Corinth, dated to the last decade of the 1st century BC.
47 National Historical Museum, Tirana (Inv 1369). Cf. Goette 1990: 135, no. Bb 103, pl. 22.3.
48 See, for instance, the togate statue in the Archaeological Museum in Tirana.
49 The figures were discovered in 1959 and are presently displayed in the Museum at Apollonia.
50 See Walker 1994: 167–69 for an example of a statue similarly sliced into 20–30 cm pieces in order to facilitate delivery, perhaps by hand, to a lime kiln.
51 Both of these statues are now in the Archaeological Museum in Tirana.

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6 Coins from the Excavations at Butrint, Diaporit and the Vrina Plain

Sam Moorhead, Shpresa Gjongecaj and Richard Abdy

The material

This report covers 1132 ancient coins from the excavations at Butrint (1994–2004: 873 coins), Diaporit (2000–04: 164 coins) and on the Vrina Plain (2002–04: 89 coins). There remain a number of coins that still need to be catalogued, after conservation work, which are not covered in this report: around 250 coins from the 2002 season at Butrint, around 80 pieces from the 2003 season at Diaporit, and 92 coins from the 2002–3 excavations on the Vrina Plain. Finally, only a selection of coins from 2004 has been included (Butrint 3; Diaporit 14; Vrina Plain 14). In addition, a small group of coins from the so-called "Shën Dimitri Hoard" has been included.[1] The inclusion of five coins of the imperial period among this group of medieval coins suggests that they were found individually and added at a later date. However, since it is likely that they were found locally, these coins are still significant in a study of the currency of the Butrint region. For completeness of coins struck at Butrint, a single coin from the Forum excavation of 2005 has been added (Forum 2005, 71, SF 0061).

The authors have consulted and incorporated earlier, unpublished, work by Peter Guest on the Butrint 1994–98 seasons. Although there is still further work required on the numismatic material, enough has been researched to provide an interim report.

Synopsis of the coins

The preservation of the coins varies between the three sites. From Butrint, only 31% (273 out of 873) can be assigned with confidence to a precise period. This is partly explained by the fact that 97% of the coins are small bronze pieces and *nummi* from the 4th to 6th centuries. Such coins were generally poorly struck and are often heavily corroded. 35% of the coins from Diaporit (47 out of 154) can be assigned to periods – again this is partly explained by the fact that 89% of the coins are also small bronzes from the 4th to 6th centuries. A higher proportion of Vrina Plain coins can be identified (66%; 47 from 75) and this is largely because only 60% of the coins date from the 4th to 6th centuries. Overall, this means that 389 coins are available for period analysis. The better-preserved coins can be broken down into broad groups as shown in Table 6.1 and can be assigned to specific periods as shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 shows the 1127 coins covered in this report (excluding the 5 coins from the Shën Dimitri Hoard). When all the outstanding coins have been catalogued, this table will need to be revised for the final report. The periods used were devised for an earlier report on the coins from San Vincenzo al Volturno.[2] Uncertain coins are in parentheses.

Analysis of coins by period

It is immediately clear that there are relatively few early Greek, Roman Republican, Roman Provincial and Roman Imperial coins prior to AD 300. The bulk of the coins come from the 4th and 5th centuries. This is partly due to the nature of the sites: not only was there much late Roman activity at all three sites, but the change in the water table makes it difficult to excavate the earlier Greek and Roman levels at Butrint and on the Vrina Plain. However, small bronze coins of the late Roman period tend to be more common on sites around the Mediterranean. The main explanation is that they were generally small coins struck in vast numbers, which are more easily lost or more likely to be discarded. After AD 364 they had no silver content, hence intrinsic value, and consequently they were effectively tokens. It is interesting that there are few coins that pre-date AD 364 (see Table 6.2).

The coins are analyzed in two broad groups. Firstly, one can consider the Greek, Roman Provincial and Roman Imperial issues prior to AD 300. There is often overlap between these issues and it is clear that they

	Butrint	Diaporit	Vrina Plain	Shën Dimitri Hoard	Totals
Greek	1	10	1	0	12
Roman Republican	0	1	0	0	1
Roman Provincial	9	6	2 + ?1	2	20
Roman Imperial, 31BC–*c.* AD300	3	6	30	2	41
Uncertain pre-AD300	13	3	1	0	17
Roman Imperial, *c.* AD300–498	260	34	33	1	328
Vandal, 496–523	2	1?	0	0	3
AD300–498 or later, uncertain	575	101	21	0	697
Uncertain	11	2	0	0	13
Total	874	164	89	5	1132

Table 6.1 Breakdown of identified coins by issuing authorities

could circulate alongside each other. The second group consists of the small bronze coins from the early 4th century until AD 498 when Anastasius reformed the coinage. The *nummi* struck in the 6th century will be discussed in a future report; it is quite likely that other 6th-century pieces exist amongst the unidentified residue.

Coins struck before *c.* AD 300

Greek

As one might expect, the 12 Greek coins generally come from local mints: 4 pieces from *Corcyra* (Diaporit 3; Vrina Plain 1), 2 from Apollonia (Diaporit) and Epirus (Diaporit; minted respectively by King Pyrrhus and by the *koinion* of Epirus), 1 from Ambracia (Diaporit), and one from *Dyrrhachium* (Diaporit). The coin of the Thessalian League was probably struck at Larissa in Thessaly (Butrint). Finally, one piece is a posthumous issue of Philip II of Macedon (Diaporit).

Roman Republican

The single silver denarius of Q. Antonius Balbus from Diaporit (SF 0667) is interesting, as letters between Cicero and T. Pomponius Atticus have shown that leading Romans in the 1st century BC had estates in the region.[3] However, it would be incorrect to use this coin as direct supporting evidence of the literary sources.

Roman Provincial

Sadly, many of these coins are poorly preserved and only a few mints can be identified. Two, or possibly three, coins are Hadrianic issues from Nicopolis (Vrina Plain, Butrint and Diaporit). From further afield comes a piece of Themisonium in Phrygia (Butrint) and another from Pergamon (Shën Dimitri Hoard).

Most important, however, are 9 coins struck at *Buthrotum* itself (Diaporit 5; Vrina Plain 1, Butrint 2, unstratified 1). There are two pieces from the Triumviral period (*c.* 44–31BC), recording the first magistrates of the *colonia*, P. Dastidius and L. Cornelius (SF 0832 and 0433; Figs 6.8 and 6.9). One is a new type that on the obverse appears to depict Asclepius, which is entirely fitting as this deity was honoured at the heart of the city. The reverse shows a bull, from which animal the city derived its name.

Three coins struck in the Augustan period were found at Diaporit (SF 0615, 0054, 0780). Of these, one appears to be a better quality example of a published issue for the magistrates Q. Naevius Sura and A. Hirtuleius Niger. It shows Augustus on the obverse and a male figure on the reverse (Fig. 6.11).[4] Sam Moorhead has argued elsewhere that the figure on the reverse might in fact be Aeneas, which is also entirely appropriate given the city's appearance in Virgil's *Aeneid*.[5] The second piece was struck by the magistrate Graecinus (Fig. 6.10) and the final piece depicts a standing bull and the inscription BUTHR; the latter is tentatively assigned to the reign of Augustus (Fig. 6.13).[6] Another piece of Graecinus was found in the Forum in 2005 and depicts a bull's head and tripod (SF 0061) (Fig. 6.12).

Two coins struck at *Buthrotum* for Nero round off the group (SF 2877 and 0013; Figs 6.16 and 6.17). Both are

Period/Date	Butrint	Diaporit	Vrina Plain	Totals
1: 4th cent.–82 BC	1	11	1	**13**
2: 82–44 BC				
3: 44 BC–AD 14	2	6		**8**
4: AD 14–41				
5: AD 41–54	1	1		**2**
6: AD 54–68	1		1	**2**
7: AD 68–96			1	**1**
8: AD 96–117	(1)		1	**2**
9: AD 117–138		2	2	**4**
10: AD 138–161	1		5	**6**
11: AD 161–180	(1)	1	2	**4**
12: AD 180–92	1		1	**2**
13: AD 192–222	1(1)			**2**
14: AD 222–238			2	**2**
15: AD 238–260		1(1)	6	**8**
16: AD 260–275		1	5	**6**
17: AD 275–296			3	**3**
18: AD 296–317	2		2	**4**
19: AD 317–330	5		2	**7**
20: AD 330–348	4	3	6	**13**
21: AD 348–364	23 (2)	3 (1)	4	**33**
22: AD 364–378	23 (3)	2	8	**36**
23: AD 378–388	13 (1)	2	2	**18**
24: AD 388–402	68 (10)	3 (2)	0	**83**
25: AD 402–450	46 (16)	14 (1)	3	**80**
26: AD 450–498	22 (22)	3	1	**48**
Vandal AD 498–523	2	(1)		**3**
Totals	**274**	**59**	**59**	**392**

Table 6.2 Breakdown of coins by period (continued opposite). Uncertain coins are in parentheses

new varieties of pieces published in the *Roman Provincial Coinage* (no. 1406). Overall, of the eight coins struck at Butrint found on excavations, one is a new type, two are new varieties and one appears to be a superior example that enables a more precise description. This shows how many new types of Roman provincial coin types there are probably still to be found for Butrint and other cities across the Empire.

Roman Imperial

The Roman Imperial coins range from the reign of Augustus all the way through to the late 3rd century. After Augustus, there are only two 1st-century pieces, one of Claudius (Butrint, SF 0153) and another of Domitian (Vrina Plain, SF 2915). However, most of the periods of the 2nd and 3rd centuries are represented, especially on the Vrina Plain where one assumes there was more activity than on the other two sites. The general dearth of late 3rd-century coins, with eight from the Vrina Plain and only one from Diaporit, possibly illustrates the considerable reduction in economic activity at Butrint at this time.

In summary, one can state that the bronze coinage

Period/Date	Butrint	Diaporit	Vrina Plain	Totals
Uncertain pre- AD 260	15	2	1	**18**
Uncertain 260–300	1		3	**4**
Uncertain 3rd/4th cents.	2			**2**
Uncertain 4th cent.	25	4	6	**35**
Uncertain 5th cent.	24	8		**32**
Uncertain 4th–5th cent.	157	28		**185**
Uncertain 5th–6th cent.	314	55		**369**
Uncertain 4th–6th cent.	31	6	20	**57**
?4th–6th cent. cast coins	22			**22**
Uncertain	11	2		**13**
Uncertain Total	**600**	**105**	**30**	**735**
Grand Total	**874**	**164**	**89**	**1127**

Table 6.2 continued

used at *Buthrotum* and surrounding sites was generally locally-struck issues in the Greek and early Roman periods. This small change was provided by cities striking in their own name or on behalf of the Roman emperor. Indeed, these finds underline *Buthrotum's* importance as a source of bronze coinage in the very late Republican and early Imperial period. However, there were Roman Imperial coins in use from the reign of Augustus although their frequency increases in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. This is shown most graphically on the Vrina Plain. It is interesting to note that on the Vrina Plain all periods are represented from AD 68 onwards, except for the Severan period of AD 192–222. This is a time when base metal coinages seem to have been scarcer in other parts of the Empire.[7] Is it possible that this dearth was made good by provincial issues, like the one piece of Julia Domna from Themisonium, another of Elagabalus from Apollonia and a possible Severan example, all recorded from Butrint in this report? There are further 14 base silver coins from the period *c.* AD 253 to 284, their mints ranging from Rome in the west to Siscia in the Balkans and Antioch in the east.

Roman Imperial coins, *c.* AD 300 to 498

It is in this period that the quantity of coins increases dramatically. As stated above, this is not unusual as such coins were struck in great numbers and were of little value. It is interesting to note that there are fewer coins prior to AD 364 after which the bronze coins contained no significant silver content. This might suggest that earlier coins were withdrawn from circulation.

Given that the Triconch Palace site was occupied in the 4th and 5th centuries, it is of no surprise that hundreds of small bronze coins, mostly *nummi*, have been found in the excavations (97% of the ancient coins from the site). It is possible that many of these coins come from dispersed hoards, a matter that will be considered in detail in future reports. At Diaporit 89% of the coins come from this period. The lower percentage might be due to the fact that the site was unoccupied until the late 5th century. However, what this does show is that 4th- and earlier 5th-century issues continued to circulate in the later 5th and 6th centuries, a phenomenon that is being found elsewhere: at Carthage, Beirut, Deir Ain Abata (Jordan); and closer to Butrint at Dichin (Bulgaria) and Nicopolis ad Istrum (Bulgaria).[8] This has been suggested by scholars studying hoards in the past, but only now is excavation beginning to support this view.[9] In the final report, it will be possible to analyse longevity of circulation by looking closely at the stratigraphy of coin finds, a study that has just been completed by Butcher at Beirut.[10]

A glance at Table 6.2 shows that at all sites the number and frequency of 4th-century coins picks up in the period 330–48. At Butrint, the peak is in the period 388–402, mostly due to the large number of SALVS REI PVBLICAE coins, but the 5th century is well represented. However, at Diaporit, the peak is in the early 5th century and this might be because the site only came back into use in the late 5th century, by which time fewer 4th century issues were still in circulation. The Vrina Plain has some 5th-century coins, but is poorly represented after 378; the archaeology might help to explain this phenomenon.

One point that is worth mentioning is that at sites to the north in the Balkans, there is a paucity of coins from the late 5th and early 6th century. Peter Guest discusses

this phenomenon at Dichin, where there are no issues between 474 and 518, and he goes on to consider the sites at Sucidava, Sadovec and Iatrus.[11] However, at Butrint and Diaporit there are coins of Leo, Zeno and Anastasius. Therefore, if there is a lack of supply or use of such pieces further north, this is not the case in the Butrint region. This is a good example of how publication of site finds can help the study of regional currency circulation. The nature of the circulating currency can also be analysed by studying the mints for coins (see Table 6.3). The two best represented mints are Rome and Thessalonika. It comes as no surprise that Thessalonika is well represented, and this phenomenon has been noted by Duncan in his study of the Balkans.[12] It is surprising that there are so few coins identified from the major Balkan mint at Siscia, though its location to the east of the Dalmatian Mountains may suggest the reason for this. The eastern mints are reasonably represented and one would expect Constantinople to be very well represented amongst the poorly preserved 5th century coins. What is interesting is that there are hardly any coins that might come from Gallic mints in the west, a factor supported by Duncan's research.[13]

The Vandal coinage

The presence of three possible Vandalic coins (two from Butrint, one from Diaporit) shows how the coins circulating in the region were being drawn from a wider currency pool, which is also attested, for example, at Beirut, in Palestine and at Carthage.[14] It is important to note here that 12 Byzantine *nummi* of Justinian I (527–565) and Maurice Tiberius (578–602) from post-Vandal Carthage are also present at both Butrint and Diaporit.[15]

Mint	Certain	Possible
Rome	19	6
Aquileia	1	4
Thessalonika	11	3
Heraclea		1
Constantinople	1	3
Nicomedia	3	
Cyzicus		2
Alexandria		1

Table 6.3 Mints represented at all sites for the period AD 300–498

Cast coins

There is another class of late Roman coin that has been found on sites in the Mediterranean. The flans of these coins are often very thin and the faces are normally blank. Some examples have casting sprues on their edges, often arrow-shaped. These coins were first recognised in Egypt by J. G. Milne and a large quantity has been identified in Palestine.[16] The discovery of moulds does suggest that Egypt was the source. Some of the pieces did have types, coins with crosses, Victory and even Axumite pieces providing prototypes. Since then, similar pieces have been identified at Beirut where Butcher regards them to have been in circulation by the third quarter of the 5th century.[17] The examples from Butrint are all apparently blank, but the authors know of no coins of this type found this far west on the north side of the Mediterranean.

Finally, it is worth noting that among the Butrint coins are pieces with lead-spots caused by the poor alloying of lead and bronze. This phenomenon is also noted at Sardis and in Palestine.[18] In summary, it is clear that the circulating bronze coinage at Butrint in the 4th to early 6th centuries is part of a wider Mediterranean currency pool, with coins from Rome, Thessalonika, Eastern and North African sources circulating together.

Summary catalogue

Greek

SF 0656 (Dia 2004, 1245), Diaporit
Macedon; Philip II, posthumous, *c.* 320 BC
AE 16.
Obv: Head of young Apollo with plain *taenia*.
Rev: ΦΙΛΙ(ΠΠΟV); naked horseman.
See: SNG Cop. 582; SNG Evelpidis 1382.

SF 0814 (Dia 2004, 1279), Diaporit
Dyrrhachium, (Epidamnos); 3rd-2nd cents. BC
AE 15, 4,20 gr.
Obv: Head of Helios r.
Rev: ΔYP, prow and magistrate names.
See Ceka 1967: 134; type as *BMCG* 183

SF 0554 (Dia 2003, 1055), Diaporit
Apollonia; 3rd-2nd cents BC
AE 18, 4.33gr.
Obv: Bust of Apollo.
Rev: Possible legend; obelisk of Apollo Agyieos.
For possible types, see: *BMCG* 49–53; 75–9; Ceka 1967: 117.

SF 0666 (Dia 2004, 1260), Diaporit (Fig. 6.1)
Pyrrhus of Epirus, 297–72 BC
AE 24, 6 gr.
Obv: Head of Zeus r.
Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ; thunderbolt.
See: *BMCG* 40ff; Franke 1961: tab.55 no.11.

SF 0852 (Dia 2004, 1529), Diaporit
Epirus, 234–168 BC

AE 16.
Obv: Bust of Artemis r.
Rev: ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ; spear head.
See: *BMCG* 465ff; Franke 1961: 201.

SF 3374 (VP 2004, 4001), Vrina Plain
Corcyra; 229–48 BC
Ae 21, 7.80 gr.
Obv: Head of Herakles r.
Rev: KOPKY-PAIΩN; prow and name of prytanis?
See: *BMCG* 531ff.; SNG Evelpidis 1975.

SF 0709 (Dia 2004, 1297), Diaporit (Fig. 6.2)
Corcyra; 229–48 BC
Ae 21, 7.21 gr.
Obv: Head of Poseidon r.
Rev: KOPKY-PAIΩN; prow and name ΣΩ....
?unpublished; for Poseidon and prow types of Corcyra, see: *BMCG* 551–3; SNG Evelpidis 1985–91.

SF 0700 (Dia 2004, 1220), Diaporit (Fig. 6.3)
Corcyra; 229–48 BC
AE 19, 6 gr.
Obv: Head of Poseidon r.
Rev: KOPKY-PAIΩN; prow and name?
?unpublished; for Poseidon and prow types of Corcyra, see: *BMCG* 551–3; SNG Evelpidis 1985–91.

SF 0854 (Dia 2004, 1487), Diaporit (Fig. 6.4)
Corcyra; 229–48 BC
AE 17, 3.60 gr.
Obv: Head of Poseidon r.
Rev: K-O; bull's head, within wreath.
See: *BMCG* 449; SNG Evelpidis, no.1960.

SF 0440 (Dia 2003, 800), Diaporit (Fig. 6.5)
Ambracia; 238–168 BC
AE 18, 4.12 gr.
Obv: Head of Dione r.
Rev: A-M / B-P; Obelisk of Apollo Agyieos, in wreath.
See: *BMCG* Ambracia 5; SNG Evelpidis 1766–7

SF 3002 (But 2003, 5301), Butrint
Thessalian League, Larissa?; 196–46 BC
AE 17, 6.04 gr.
Obv: Laur. head of Apollo r.
Rev: ΘΕΣΣΑ/ΛΩΝ; Athena Itonia r.; to r., HP monogram (?)
See: *BMCG* 50

SF 0442 (Dia 2003, 0696), Diaporit (Fig. 6.6)
Apollonia; 38–36 BC
AE 24/25, 15.31gr.
Obv: XAIPHN; Head of Artemis l. Below, E. Above, unclear monogram.
Rev: ΑΠΟΛΛΩ/NIATAN in two lines; tripod-lebes; all in laureal-wreath.
See: Gjongecaj and Picard 1998: nos. 34–37.

Roman Republican

SF 0667 (Dia 2004, 1244), Diaporit (Fig. 6.7)
Q. Antonius Balbus
83–82 BC
AR Denarius, 3.67gr.
Obv: S.C; laur. hd of Jupiter r.
Rev: Q.ANT(ligate)O.B AL(ligate) B.; PR; Victory in quadriga r.; below, E.
See: *RRC* 364d.

Roman Provincial

SF 0832 (Dia 2004, 1420), Diaporit (Fig. 6.8)
P. Dastidius and L. Cornelius II vir q. a.
Mint: *Buthrotum*; *c.* 44–27 BC
AE 20, 8.93gr.
Obv: P. DASTIDIVS L. CORNELIVS; laureate head of Zeus r.
Rev: Bull to r.; in field DD; in exergue II VIR.Q.A
See: *RPC* 1378.

SF 0433 (Dia 2003, 840), Diaporit (Fig. 6.9)
P. Dastidius and L. Cornelius II vir q. a.
Mint: *Buthrotum*; *c.* 44–27BC
AE 21, 5.9gr; die axis 12.
Obv: EX.D.D.IIVIR [Q?] A; laur. and bearded bust of Asclepius r.; to l., snake around staff.
Rev: to l. and below: P. DASTIDIVS; L. [C]OR NE LIVS; Bull stg. r.
Unpublished
Notes: The magistrates P. Dastidius and L. Cornelius are the earliest recorded for the colony of *Buthrotum*. One issue is recorded for them (*RPC* 1378; 21–22mm), which bears the magistrates names and a laureate head of Zeus on the obverse and their titles and a bull on the reverse; 16 specimens are recorded. This new piece is similar, but seems to have Asclepius on the obverse, which is fitting given the centrality of the god's shrine at *Buthrotum*. Furthermore, the inscriptions are reversed with the magistrates' names on the reverse and their titles on the obverse.

SF 0615 (Dia 2004, 1221), Diaporit (Fig. 6.10)
Graecinus quinq tert
Mint: *Buthrotum*; *c.* 27 BC–AD 14
AE 22/24, 6.75gr.
Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS in wreath; countermarked CP.
Rev: GRAECINVS QVIN.TERT BVTHR, lituus; countermarked BA.
See: *RPC* 1391.

SF 0054 (Dia 2001, 125), Diaporit (Fig. 6.11)
Augustus
Mint: *Buthrotum*; *c.* 20s BC
AE 17, 3.38 gr.; die axis 12
Obv: C AB[BVT EX DD]; bare head. of Augustus r.
Rev: [Q NAEVI SVRA A HIRTVL NIGER]; in field, II VIR B; male figure adv. r.
See: *RPC* 1380.
Notes: Although this coin has been published, with three specimens known, this is a better quality piece than illustrated in *RPC*. The reverse might represent Aeneas, wearing a Phrygian cap or helmet and possibly carrying the Palladium; cf. Moorhead forthcoming.

SF 0061 (Forum 2005, 71), Butrint (Fig. 6.12)
Graecinus quiq tert
Mint: *Buthrotum*; *c.* 27 BC – AD 14

AE 15–17; 4.36 gr; die axis 1
Obv: GRAECINVS QVIN TERT; bull's head facing
Rev: BV to r.; THR to l.; tripod
RPC 1, 1393

SF 0780 (Dia 2004, 1263), Diaporit (Fig. 6.13)
?Augustan period
Mint: *Buthrotum*; ?*c.* 27 BC – AD 14
AE 16–17, 3.19 gr; die axis 2
Obv: Bull stg. r.
Rev: BUTHR.
See: *RPC* 1394.

Shën Dimitri Hoard, no. 1 (Fig. 6.14)
Augustus
Mint: Pergamon; 27–23 BC
AE 25/27; 8.09 gr
Obv: CAESAR, head of Augustus r.
Rev: AVGVSTVS in wreath.
See: Giard 1988: 96.

Shën Dimitri Hoard, no. 2 (Fig. 6.15)
Claudius
Mint: *Buthrotum*; AD 41–54.
AE 18/21
Obv: TI CLA (GER CAES); laureate head r.
Rev: CCIB; swimming ox, r.; in field DD.
See: *RPC* 1399.

SF 2877 (VP 2003, 2143), Vrina Plain (Fig. 6.16)
Nero
Mint: *Buthrotum*; AD 66–67
AE 25, 7.90 gr.
Obv: NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERM; radiate head r.; countermarked BA.
Rev: .D. / [EX CONSE] N; bull r.; in exergue [CCIB].
See: *RPC* 1401.
Note: This is a new variety – the bull is standing r., not butting r.

SF 0013 (Forum 1 2004, 29), Butrint (Fig. 6.17)
Nero
Mint: *Buthrotum*, AD 66–67
AE 19, 5,80 gr.
Obv: NERO CLAVDIVS (CAESAR AVG GERM); radiate head l.; countermarked BA.
Rev: EX (CONSENSV D), butting bull r.; in exergue (C)CIB.
See: *RPC* 1406.
Note: This is a new variety with Nero's head l., instead of r.

SF 2873 (VP 2003, 2102), Vrina Plain
Hadrian
Mint: Nicopolis (Epirus); AD 117–38
AE 17, 2,97 gr.
Obv: ADPIANOC KAICAP; laur and dr. bust.
Rev: NEIKOΠOΛEΩC; Asclepios stg. facing head r. holding serpent staff.
See: *BMCG* 17; Sear 1982: 1128.

SF 0014 (Forum 1 2004, 29), Butrint (Fig. 6.18)
Hadrian
Mint: Nicopolis; AD 117–38.
AE 19, 5.80 gr.
Obv: KAICAP ADPIANOC; laur. and dr. bust r.
Rev: NEIKOΠOΛEΩC; standing nude Hermes l., behind ram.
See: Oeconomides 1975: 84 no. 25 (identical reverse).

SF 0129 (Dia 2001, 185), Diaporit
Hadrian
Mint: ?Nicopolis; AD 117–38
AE 16, 3.74 gr.
Obv: …; laur. bust r.
Rev: ?; Nike adv. r.
Note: though this piece cannot be attributed to a city, it is worth noting that Nike appears on the coins of other emperors from Nicopolis (see *BMCG* 102ff.; SNG Cop. pl. 2).

SF 0473a (But 1998, 1009), Butrint
?Antonine
?Caeasarea, Cappadocia
AE13/14, 1.85 gr
Obv: … laur. and bearded hd. r.
Rev: …; ?mountain.

SF 0819 (But 2000, 1557 Triconch), Butrint
Julia Domna
Mint: Themisonium (in Phrygia); AD193–217
AE 28, 13.51 gr.
Obv: [IOV]ΛIAΔ(O?)- …; dr. bust r.
Rev: ΘЄMIC-IΩNЄΩN; Demeter stg. hdg. torch in each hand, between corn ear and poppy.
See: Sear 1982: 2419; SNG von Aulock 4017.

SF 3293 (But 2003, 5630), Butrint
??Septimus Severus
Mint: unknown; ??AD193–211
AE 20/21, 3.49 gr.
Obv: ?; bust r.
Rev: ?; poss. figure l.

SF 0831 (But 2000, 1411 Triconch), Butrint
??Caracalla
Mint: unknown; ??AD 211–17
AE 18/13, 2.37 gr. (only ¼ of a coin)
Obv: ?.AN..; radiate [bust or head] r., with dotted hair.
Rev: ?

SF 3370 (VP 2004, 3002), Vrina plain
Elagabalus
Mint: Apollonia; AD 218–22
AE 31.
Obv: AKMAYAN-TΩNEINOC CE; beardless bust, laureate, draped and cuirassed, seen from the rear.
Rev: AΠOΛΛΩN-IA-TAN; emperor on horseback, holding spear in r. hand, riding l; under the horse, two kneeling prisoners, one with hands tied behind his back.
See: Ceka 1967: 168; Gjongecaj and Picard 2004: 144–5.

Roman Imperial, 27 BC – c. AD 300

SF 0838 (Dia 2004, 1347), Diaporit (Fig. 6.19)
Augustus; M. Salvius Otho
Mint: Rome; 7 BC
AE As.

Obv: CAESAR AVGVST.PONT.MAX TRIBVNIC; head of Augustus r.
Rev: M.SALVIVS.OTHO.III.VIR.AAAFF around S C.
See: Giard 1988: 687; *RIC* 431.

SF 0123 (But 1996, 1114 Triconch), Butrint
Augustus; M. Maecilius Tullus
Mint: Rome; 7 BC
AE As, 8.74 gr.
Obv: …AVGVST PONT MA…; hd. r.
Rev: M MAEC(ILIVS) [TVLLVS IIIVIR A] A A F F F around S C.
See: Giard 1988: 654; *RIC* 435.

SF 0153 (Dia 2001, 0215), Diaporit
Claudius
Mint: Rome; AD 41–54
AE As, 7.17 gr.
Obv: ..(AR) AVG P M TR P (IM)…; bare hd. l.
Rev: [S] C; Minerva adv. r.
See: *RIC* 66.

SF 2915 (VP 2003, 128), Vrina Plain
Domitian
Mint: Rome; AD 81–96
AE Dupondius 27.
Obv: IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GERMA CPMTRP COS V PP; radiate head r.
Rev: corroded.

SF 2661 (VP 2002, 57), Vrina Plain
Trajan
Mint: Rome; AD 98–117
AE Dupondius.
Obv: IMPCAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GERMACPMTRPCOS V PP; radiate head r.
Rev: corroded.

Shën Dimitri Hoard, no. 3 (Fig. 6.20)
Trajan
Rome; AD 103–11
AR Denarius, 2.67 gr.
Obv: IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P; laur. r., dr. on l and r. shoulders.
Rev: COS V PP S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC; Victory adv. r., hdg. wreath in r. and palm in l.
See: *RIC* 131.

SF 2924 (VP 2003, 1536), Vrina Plain
Hadrian
Mint: Rome; AD 117–38
AE Sestertius, 22.74 gr.
Obv: IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG; head r.
Rev: ?

SF 0558 (Dia 2003, 1065), Diaporit
Hadrian
Mint: Rome; AD 117–138
AE Sestertius, 16.81 gr.
Obv: …; dr. bust r.
Rev: …; female personification hdg. patera (over altar?) and poss. cornucopiae.

SF 2079 (VP 2002, 1065), Vrina Plain
Antoninus Pius
Mint: Rome; AD 138–61
AE As, 9.01gr.
Obv: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP; head r.
Rev: ?

Shën Dimitri Hoard, no. 4
Antoninus Pius
Mint: Rome; AD 145–61
AE As, 11.73 gr.
Obv: …; laur … r.
Rev: S C; Apollo stg. l hdg. patera(?) and lyre.
See: *RIC* 824a.

SF 0012 (Forum 1, 26), Butrint
Antoninus Pius
Mint: Rome?; AD 145–61
AE As.
Obv……PIVS…; head r.
Rev……; figure seated r., holding cornucopiae.

SF 3390 (VP 2004, 4002), Vrina Plain
Antoninus Pius
Mint: Rome; ?AD 148–49
AE Sestertius, 9.26 gr
Obv: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TR P XXII/XII; head r.
Rev: ANNONA AVG…SC; Annona standing l. holding corn ears, anchor and cornucopiae.
See: *RIC* 854.
Note: Rev type not recorded for XXII.

SF 3438 (VP 2004, 4002), Vrina Plain
Antoninus Pius
Mint: ?
AE Sestertius.
Obv…..; head r.
Rev …..; helmeted figure r.

SF 2502 (VP 2002, absent), Vrina Plain
Faustina the Elder
Mint: Rome; AD 138–61
AE Sestertius, 25.06 gr.
Obv: DIVA FAVSTINA; head r.
Rev: ?

SF 2503 (VP 2002, 1050), Vrina Plain
Faustina the Elder
Mint: Rome; AD 138–61
AE As, 9.20 gr.
Obv: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA; head r.
Rev: AETERNITAS S C; type unclear.

SF 3425 (VP 2004, 4002), Vrina Plain
Faustina the Younger
Mint: Rome; AD 161–76
AE Sestertius.
Obv: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA; bust r.
Rev: VENERI VICTRICI S C ; Venus, semi-naked, standing r., holding the arm of Mars who stands front, head l. ; Mars bears shield on l. arm.
See: *RIC* 1680.

SF 2854 (VP 2003, 1502), Vrina Plain
Marcus Aurelius
Mint: Rome; AD 161–80
AE Sestertius, 21.50 gr.
Obv: M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXIII, bust r.
Rev: ……; figure holding cornucopiae.

SF 0680 (Dia 2004, 1267), Diaporit (Fig. 6.21)
Marcus Aurelius
Mint: Rome; AD 172–73
AE Sestertius.
Obv: M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXVII; laur. r., dr. on l. shoulder, and poss. elsewhere.
Rev: RELIG AVG (in ex), IMP VI COS, SC; Mercury stg. l. in tetrastyle temple.
See: *RIC* 1074.

SF 0900 (But 2000, 1574), Butrint
Commodus
Mint: Rome; AD 184–85
AE Sestertius; 14.33 gr.
Obv: [ ]; laur. hd. r.
Rev: [P M TR P VIII / X IMP VII COS IIII P P, VICT BRIT] (in ex), S C; Victory std. r. inscribing shield.
See: *RIC* 440 and 451–52.

SF 2859 (VP 2003, 1502), Vrina Plain
Commodus
Mint: Rome; AD 180–92
AE Sestertius, 20.41 gr.
Obv: …; bust r.
Rev: …; figure seated l. on throne.

SF 2476 (VP 2002, 1019), Vrina Plain
Uncertain
Mint: Rome; 2nd century AD
AE As.
Obv: …; bust r.
Rev:?

SF 2871 (VP 2003, 1503), Vrina Plain (Fig. 6.22)
Severus Alexander
Mint: Rome; AD 222–35
AE Sestertius.
Obv: IMP CAES M AVR SEV ALEXANDER AVG; laureate, dr. and cuir. r.
Rev: P M TR P VI COS II P P S C; Mars walking, carrying spear and trophy.
See: *RIC* 456.

SF 2365 (VP 2003, 1013), Vrina Plain (Fig. 6.23)
Severus Alexander
Mint: Rome; AD 222–35
AE Sestertius.
Obv: IMP SEV ALEXANDER AVG; laur. head r., drapery on l. shoulder.
Rev: P M TR P COS [III], S C; type unclear; Sol stg. 1., hdg. whip and raising hand.
See: *RIC* 511.

SF 2477 (VP 2002, 1006), Vrina Plain
Gordian III
Mint: Rome; AD 238–44
AE Sestertius.
Obv: IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG; bust. r.
Rev: MARS PROPVGNAT S C; Mars walking r.
See: *RIC* 332a.

SF 3386 (VP 2004, 4003), Vrina Plain
Philip I
Mint: Rome; AD 247
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: IMP.M.IVL.PHILIPPVS AVG, radiate bust r.
Rev: P M TR P IIII COS II P P; Felicitas standing l., holding a caduceus and cornucopiae.
See: *RIC* 4.

SF 3371 (VP 2004, 4001), Vrina Plain
Philip I
Mint: Rome; AD 247
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: IMP.M.IVL.PHILIPPVS AVG, radiate bust r.
Rev: P M TR P IIII COS II P P; Felicitas standing l., holding a caduceus and cornucopiae.
See: *RIC* 4.

SF 2870 (VP 2003, 1503), Vrina Plain (Fig. 6.24)
Philip I
Mint: Rome; AD 247
AE Sestertius.
Obv: IMP IVL PHILIPPVS AVG; bust r.
Rev: P M TR P IIII COS II P P, S C; Felicitas stg.l. holding long caduceus and cornucopiae.
See: *RIC* 149a or 150a.

SF 0207 (Dia 2001, 331), Diaporit (Fig. 6.25)
Philip II
Mint: Rome; AD 244–47
AE Sestertius.
Obv: M IVL PHILIPPVS CA(ES); bare hd., dr. (seen from rear) r.
Rev: PRINCIPI IVVENT, S C; Philip stg. l., hdg. globe and spear.
See: *RIC* 255–6.

SF 2362 (VP 2002, 1001), Vrina Plain
Otacilia Severa
Mint: Rome; AD 244–49
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: OTACIL SEVERA AVG; diad. and dr. bust r.
Rev: SAECULARES AVGG; in exergue IIII; hippopotamus standing r. head down.
See: *RIC* 116b.

SF 3417 (VP 2004, 4002), Vrina Plain (Fig. 6.26)
Mariniana (wife of Valerian)
Mint: Rome AD 254
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: DIVAE MARINIANAE; veiled bust r. on crescent below.
Rev: CONSECRATIO, S C; Peacock standing front, head l.
See: *RIC* 3.

SF 3392 (VP 2004, 3002), Vrina Plain
Gallienus, sole reign

Mint: Rome; AD 260–8
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: GALLIENVS AVG; radiate head r.
Rev: IOVIS STATOR; Jupiter, naked, holding sceptre and thunderbolt.
See: *RIC* 216; Besly and Bland 1983: 1225.

SF 3377 (VP 2004, 4001), Vrina Plain
Gallienus, sole reign
Mint: Rome; AD 260–8
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: GALLIENVS AVG; bust r.
Rev: AETERNITAS AVG ; Sol, semi-naked, standing l., holding globe; to l.
See: *RIC* 160; Besly and Bland 1983, 1169–72.

SF 2857 (VP 2003: 1502), Vrina Plain
Aurelian
Mint: ?; AD 270–75
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: …; bust r.
Rev: …; corroded.

SF 2864 (VP 2003, 2092), Vrina Plain (Fig. 6.27)
Aurelian
Mint: ?; AD 270–75
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: IMP C AVRELIANVS AVG; radiate bust r.
Rev: CONCORDIA MILITVM; Aurelian and Concordia clasping hands.
See: *RIC* 59 (Rev. type).

SF 0629 (Dia 2004, 1248), Diaporit
Vabalathus and Aurelian
Mint: Antioch; AD 270–1
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: VABALATHVS VCRIMOR; laureate bust r.
Rev: IMP AVRELIANVS AVG; radiate bust r., in exergue B?
See: *RIC* 381.

SF 2663 (VP 2002, 57), Vrina Plain
Probus
Mint: ?Ticinum; AD 276–82
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: IMP C PROBVS AVG; cuir. bust r.
Rev: PROVIDENT AVG; Providentia standing l.; to l., T; in exergue, ?
See: *RIC* 487 (for rev. type).

SF 2781 (VP 2003, 2026), Vrina Plain (Fig. 6.28)
Probus
Mint: Siscia; AD 276–82
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: IMP C M AVR PROBVS P F AVG; radiate consular bust l., hdg. sceptre
Rev: SOLI INVICTO; Sol in quadriga; in exergue, XXIV
See: *RIC* 767.

SF 2775 (VP 2003, 2002), Vrina Plain (Fig. 6.29)
Carus
Mint: Rome; AD 282–83
Billon Antoninianus; 3.54 gr.
Obv: IMP C M AVR KARVS P F AVG; radiate bust r.
Rev: VICTORIA AVG; Victory walking l.; in exergue PXXI.
See: *RIC* 85.

SF 2737 (VP 2003, 2000), Vrina Plain (Fig. 6.30)
Galerius Caesar
Mint: ?; AD 293–305
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES; radiate bust r.
Rev: CONCORDIA MILITVM; Galerius receiving Victory on globe from Jupiter.
See: *RIC* 717 (mint of Cyzicus).

SF 1202 (But 2001, 3391), Butrint
Uncertain
Unknown mint; *c.* AD 250–300
Billon Antoninianus; 2.53 gr.
Obv: …; ?radiate bust r.
Rev: ?

SF 2860 (VP 2003, 1502), Vrina Plain
Uncertain
Mint: ?; *c.* AD 250–300
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: ?
Rev: ?

SF 2745 (VP 2003, 108), Vrina Plain
Uncertain
Mint: ?; *c.* AD 250–300
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: ?
Rev: ?

SF 3991 (VP 2004, 4002), Vrina Plain
Uncertain
Mint: ?; AD *c.* 250–300
Billon Antoninianus.
Obv: …; bust r.
Rev: …; corroded.

Uncertain coins, pre-AD 300

Roman Imperial or Provincial. There are three poorly preserved coins from Diaporit, and a further 13 coins from Butrint, that might pre-date *c.* AD 250. However, it is possible that some are late Roman or Byzantine. Two pieces can be noted here:

SF 0909 (But 2000, 1114 Triconch), Butrint
??Marcus Aurelius
Mint: unknown; 2nd century AD
AE 23.
Obv: ?; traces of bust r.
Rev: Effaced.

SF 0831 (But 2000, 1411 Triconch), Butrint
Antonine or Severan
Mint: unknown; 2nd-3rd century AD
AE 18/13, 2.37 gr. (only ¼ of a coin).
Obv: ?.AN..; radiate [bust or head] r., with dotted hair.
Rev: ?

Late Roman coins of the 4th and 5th centuries AD

The following bronze coins are listed by reverse type, giving basic type information and dates for issues. Only a few coins can be assigned to a mint; where possible this is noted (with number of examples given in parentheses). References are excluded since further research is needed on a number of 5th-century issues. In the frequency column the totals before the slash are certain identifications those after are tentative. Ten coins with reverse types belonging to the house of Constantine (AD 330s–60s) were found in the Vrina Plain excavations; these still need further study and are consequently not detailed below. Dates are derived from *LRBC* and *RIC*.

Rev: IOVI CONSERVATORI; Jupiter stg.
AD 311–20
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS; Prince stg.
c. AD 317
Frequency: 1 Butrint, 1 Vrina Plain

Rev: PROVIDENTIAE AVGG; Camp-gate with 3 turrets
c. AD 316–324
Mint: ?Heraclea
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: CESARVM NOSTRORVM; Wreath
Crispus; AD 316–26 (AE 3)
Mint: Rome
Frequency: 1 Vrina Plain

Rev: DOMINOR NOSTROR CAESS; Wreath VOT V
c. AD 320–5
Mint: Rome
Frequency: 1 Vrina Plain

Rev: CAESARVM NOSTRORVM; VOT/X/crescent in wreath
c. AD 320–4
Mint: Rome (1)
Frequency: 2 Butrint

Rev: DN CONSTANTINI MAX AVG; VOT/XX in wreath
c. AD 320–7
Mint: Thessalonika
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: PROVIDENTIAE CAESS; Camp-gate with 2 turrets
c. AD 324–8
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: GLORIA EXERCITVS; Two soldiers and two standards
AD 330–5
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: GLORIA EXERCITVS; Two soldiers and one standard
AD 335–41
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN; Two Victories
AD 347–8
Mint: ?Aquileia (1)
Frequency: 1 Butrint, 2 Diaporit

Rev: VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX in wreath
AD 347–8
Frequency: 1 Butrint, 1 Diaporit, 1 Shën Dimitri Hoard

Rev: FEL TEMP REPARATIO; Falling Horseman
AD 348–55
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: FEL TEMP REPARATIO; Unclear Type
AD 348–55
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: FEL TEMP REPARATIO; Falling Horseman
AD 355–61
Mint: ?Thessalonika (1), Nicomedia (2), Some barbarous
Frequency: 18/1 Butrint, 2 Diaporit

Rev: SPES REI PVBLICE; Emperor stg.
AD 355–61
Frequency: 3/1 Butrint, 1/1 Diaporit

Rev: SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE; Victory
AD 364–78
Mint: Thessalonika (1), ?Thessalonika (1), ?Alexandria (1), ?Aquileia (1)
Frequency: 13/1 Butrint, 1 Diaporit

Rev: GLORIA ROMANORVM; Emperor and captive
AD 364–78
Mint: Aquileia (1), Thessalonika (2)
Frequency: 10/2 Butrint, 1 Diaporit

Rev: GLORIA ROMANORVM / SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE
AD 364–78
Mint: Rome (1), Thessalonika (2)
Frequency: 8 Vrina Plain

Rev: VOT/X/MVLT/XX; in Wreath
AD 378–83
Mint: Thessalonika (1), ?Thessalonika (1)
Frequency: 6/1 Butrint; 2 Vrina Plain

Rev: VOT/X/MVLT XX/XV in wreath
AD 378–83
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: VOT V in wreath
AD 378–83
Mint: ?Cyzicus
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: VOT V in wreath
AD 383
Frequency: 1 Diaporit

Rev: Indeterminate vota issue; in wreath
AD 378–83
Frequency: 5 Butrint

Rev: GLORIA REI PVBLICE; Camp Gate
AD 383–92
Mint: Thessalonika (2)
Frequency: 2 Butrint

Rev: VIRTVS AVGGG; Emperor on Galley
AD 383–92
Mint: Thessalonika
Frequency: 1 Diaporit

Rev: SALVS REI PVBLICAE; Victory and captive
AD 383–403
Mint: Aquileia (1), ?Aquileia (2), Constantinople (1), ?Constantinople (2), Nicomedia (3), ?Cyzicus (1)
Frequency: 56/7 Butrint, 3/2 Diaporit

Rev: VICTORIA AVGG/GGG; Victory and wreath
AD 383–402
Frequency: 3/1 Butrint

Rev: VIRTVS EXERCITI; Victory crowning emperor
AD 395–401
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: Uncertain Victory types (SALVS REI PVBLICE or VICTORIA AVGG/GGG)
c. AD 383–435
Frequency: 6/2 Butrint

Rev: Uncertain Victory types
c. AD 383–435
Frequency: 3/2 Butrint

Rev: Uncertain
c. AD 378–408
Frequency: 2 Butrint

Rev: uncertain
4th century AD
Frequency: 6 Vrina Plain

Rev: SALVS REI PVBLICAE; Victory seated
AD 401–3
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: GLORIA ROMANORVM; Three emperors
AD 402–8
Frequency: 5 Butrint

Rev: CONCORDIA AVGGG; Cross
AD 404–6
Mint: Constantinople (1)
Frequency: 6/2 Butrint, 1 Diaporit

Rev: VRBS ROMA FELIX; Roma stg.
c. AD 404–8
Mint: Rome (2)
Frequency: 2 Butrint

Rev: GLORIA ROMANORVM; Two emperors with shield
AD 408–23
Frequency: 4/1 Butrint

Rev: GLORIA ROMANORVM; Two emperors with globe
AD 408–23
Frequency: 1 Butrint, 1 Diaporit

Rev: GLORIA ROMANORVM; Two emperors, uncertain detail
AD 408–23
Frequency: 0/1 Butrint

Rev: VOT/X/MVLT/XX in wreath
AD 408–23
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: VICTORIA AVGG; Victory l.
AD 410–23
Mint: Rome (3), ?Rome (1)
Frequency: 2/2 Butrint

Rev: Uncertain Victory type
c. AD 410–35
Mint: Rome
Frequency: 1 Vrina Plain

Rev: SALVS REIPVBLICE; Victory and captive
AD 423–5
Mint: Rome (3), ?Rome (2)
Frequency: 1 Vrina Plain 1/1 Butrint, 2/1 Diaporit

Rev: SALVS REI PVBLICAE or E; Victory l.
AD 383–408 or 423–5
Frequency: 3 Butrint

Rev: VICTORIA AVG/GG; Victory adv l.
AD 425–35
Mint: Rome
Frequency: 0/2 Butrint; 2 Diaporit

Rev: Cross in wreath
AD 425–35
Frequency: 5/6 Butrint; 3 Diaporit

Rev: CONCORDIA AVGGG or Cross in wreath
AD 404–6; 425–35
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: CONCORDIA AVG; Victory hdg. two wreaths
AD 425–50
Frequency: 1 Vrina Plain; 0/1 Butrint

Rev: Uncertain emperor and captive
AD 425–74
Frequency: 1/1 Butrint

Rev: Theodosius II Monogram
AD 445–50
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: Marcian Monogram
AD 450–7
Frequency: 1 Vrina Plain (Rome?); 7/6 Butrint; 2 Diaporit

Rev: Leo Monogram
AD 457–74
Frequency: 2/2 Butrint

Rev: b – E; Empress standing
AD 457–74
Frequency: 6/2 Butrint

Rev: Lion in wreath
AD 457–74
Frequency: 0/1 Butrint

Rev: Emperor and captive
AD 457–74
Frequency: 1 Butrint

Rev: Leo or Zeno Monogram
AD 457–91
Frequency: 2/1 Butrint

Rev: Libius Severus Monogram
AD 461–65
Mint: ?Rome
Frequency: 0/1 Butrint

Rev: Zeno Monogram
AD 474–91
Mint: ?Constantinople (1)
Frequency: 0/2 Butrint, 1 Diaporit

Rev: Anastasius Monogram
AD 491–8
Frequency: 3/2 Butrint

Rev: VICTORIA AVG/GG; Victory adv. l.
5th century AD
Mint: ?Rome
Frequency: 1 Diaporit

Rev: Uncertain Cross types
5th century AD
Mint: ?barb. (2)
Frequency: 6 Butrint

Rev: Unclear Victory types
5th century AD
Mint: Rome (1), ?Rome (1)
Frequency: 4 Diaporit

Rev: Uncertain Victory types
Late 5th century AD to Vandalic
Frequency: 0/4 Butrint

Vandal coinages

Rev: Vandalic Victory type
AD 496–523
Mint: ?Carthage
Frequency: 2 Butrint, 0/1 Diaporit
See: *MEC* nos. 19–20 and 31–2; *MIB* table XIII, 16.

Miscellaneous and uncertain coins

Rev: Thin coins, some with cast marks; none have discernible types
Frequency: 22 Butrint

3rd/4th century AD
Frequency: 2 Butrint

4th century AD
Frequency: 25 Butrint, 4 Diaporit

5th century AD monogram or similar types
Frequency: 24 Butrint, 8 Diaporit

?4th-5th century AD
Frequency: 157 Butrint, 28 Diaporit

?5th or possibly 6th century AD
Frequency: 314 Butrint, 55 Diaporit

4th-6th cents. AD
Frequency: 31 Butrint, 20 Vrina Plain

?4th-6th cents. AD
Frequency: 6 Diaporit

Uncertain
Frequency: 11 Butrint, 2 Diaporit

Bronze piece /fragments
Frequency: one group Butrint

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Notes

1 The medieval coins are being studied by Pagona Papadopoulou of the Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne and will be published in full in a future volume.
2 Moorhead forthcoming b.
3 Deniaux 1987; 1993.
4 *RPC* 1380.
5 Moorhead forthcoming a.
6 *RPC* 1394.
7 Walker 1988: 299–300.
8 Bowsher forthcoming; Butcher 2004: 115–16; Guest forthcoming; Guest 1999: 323–4; Reece 2003: 236.
9 Duncan 1993: 168.
10 Butcher 2004.
11 Guest forthcoming.
12 Duncan 1993: 169.
13 Duncan 1993.
14 Bijovski 1998; Butcher 2004; Moorhead 1983; Reece 2003: 229–45.
15 These will be included in a forthcoming study by Papadopoulou and Moorhead.
16 Milne 1926. For the Palestinian coins, see Moorhead 1983: iia and 151–4.

17 Butcher 2004: 101.
18 Charles 1981: 124–27; Moorhead 1983: 160.

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MEC Grierson P. and Blackburn, M. (1986) *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1. *The Early Middle Ages*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

MIB Hahn, W. (1973–81) *Moneta Imperii Byzantini* (3 vols.). Vienna, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

RIC Mattingly, H., *et al*. (1923–95) *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (vols. 1–10). London, Spink and Son.

RPC Burnett, A., Amandry, M. and Ripollès, P. P. (1992) *Roman Provincial Coinage,* vol. 1. London/Paris, British Museum Press/ Bibliothèque nationale.

RRC Crawford, M. H. (1974) *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

SNG Cop. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (1943) *The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Epirus – Acarnania*. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet.

SNG Evelpidis *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (1975) *Collection Réna H. Evelpidis, Athens, Macédonie, Corcyre*. Louvain, Imprimerie Orientaliste.

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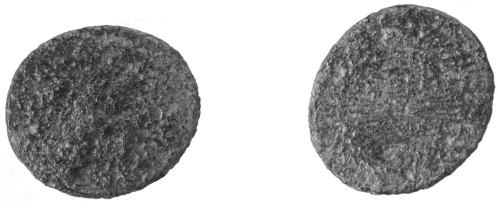

Fig. 6.1 Pyrrhus of Epirus; 297–72 BC; SF 0666

Fig. 6.2 Mint of Corcyra; 229–48 BC; SF 0709

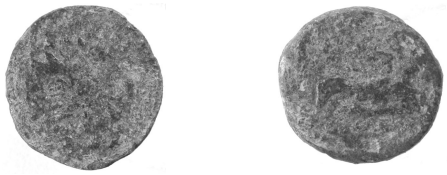

Fig. 6.3 Mint of Corcyra; 229–48 BC; SF 0700

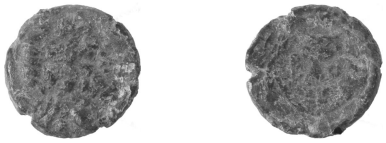

Fig. 6.4 Mint of Corcyra; 229–48 BC; SF 0854

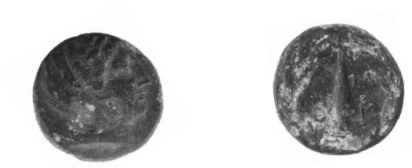

Fig. 6.5 Mint of Ambracia; 238–168 BC; SF 0440

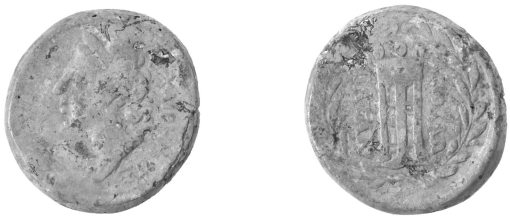

Fig. 6.6 Mint of Apollonia; 38–36 BC; SF 0442

Fig 6.7 Q. Antonius Balbus; 83–82 BC; SF 0667

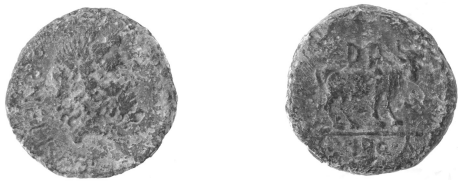

Fig. 6.8 Dastidius and Cornelius, Buthrotum*;* c. *44–27 BC; SF 0832*

Fig. 6.9 Dastidius and Cornelius, Buthrotum*;* c. *44–27 BC; SF 0433*

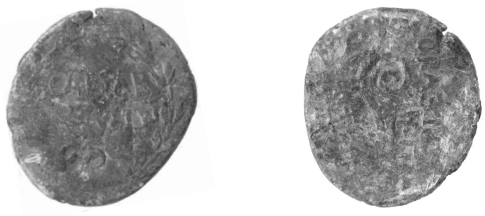

Fig. 6.10 Graecinus, Buthrotum*;* c. *27 BC – AD 14; SF 0615*

Scale 1:1 (BF, photos by M. Grayley)

Fig. 6.11 Mint of Buthrotum; c. *20s BC; SF 0054*

Fig. 6.12 Graecinus Buthrotum; *Augustan; SF 0061*

Fig. 6.13 Mint of Buthrotum*, Augustan?; SF 0780*

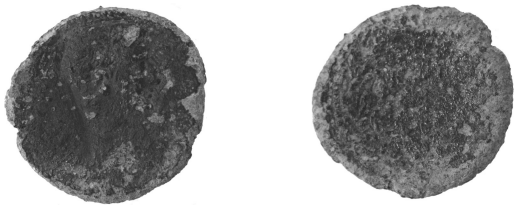

Fig. 6.14 Mint of Pergamon; 27–23 BC; SD Hoard 1

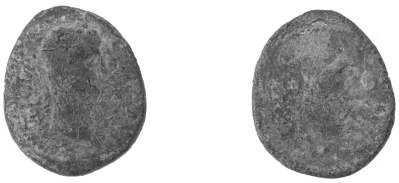

Fig. 6.15 Mint of Buthrotum*, Claudian; SD Hoard 2*

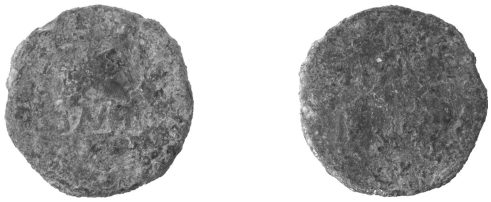

Fig. 6.16 Mint of Buthrotum*; AD 66–67; SF 2877*

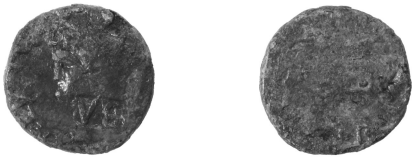

Fig. 6.17 Mint of Buthrotum*; AD 66–67; SF 0013*

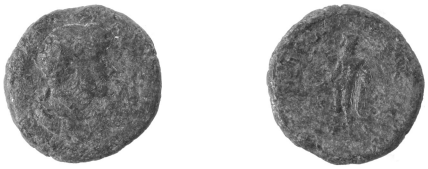

Fig. 6.18 Mint of Nicopolis, Hadrian; SF 0014

Fig. 6.19 M. Salvius Otho, Rome; 7 BC; SF 0838

Fig. 6.20 Trajan, Rome; AD 103–11; SD Hoard 3

Scale 1:1 (BF, photos by M. Grayley)

Fig. 6.21 Marcus Aurelius, Rome; AD 172–73; SF 0680

Fig. 6.22 Severus Alexander, Rome; AD 222–35; SF 2871

Fig. 6.23 Severus Alexander, Rome; AD 222–35; SF 2365

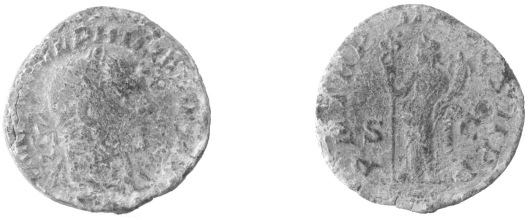

Fig. 6.24 Philip I, Rome; AD 247; SF 2870

Fig. 6.25 Philip II, Rome; AD 244–47; SF 0207

Fig. 6.26 Mariniana, Rome; AD 254; SF 3417

Fig. 6.27 Aurelian, mint unknown; AD 270–75; SF 2864

Fig. 6.28 Probus, Siscia; AD 276–82; SF 2781

Fig. 6.29 Carus, Rome; AD 282–83; SF 2775

Fig. 6.30 Galerius Caesar, mint uncertain; AD 293–305; SF 2737

Scale 1:1 (BF, photos by M. Grayley)

7 Geoarchaeological Investigation at Roman Butrint

David J. Bescoby

Introduction

The following chapter describes the geoarchaeological and geophysical investigation on the Vrina Plain at Butrint. The Vrina Plain, formed as a result of substantial valley infilling throughout the Holocene, is typical of many coastal lowlands within the Mediterranean. The importance of these areas as a focus for past settlement and subsequently for preserving archaeological sequences is now well established.[1] The continued use of geophysical survey and advanced data processing techniques combined with a wider geoarchaeological study of the evolving floodplain has allowed a detailed investigation of the 19 hectares of Roman settlement remains buried beneath the alluvial sediments.[2]

Topography and geomorphology of the Vrina Plain

The Vrina Plain forms the distal portion of an extensive alluvial plain extending along the fault bound valley to the south of Butrint. A number of large Pleistocene gravel terraces form a series of ridges flanking the southeastern edges of the valley, from which lithics dating to the middle Palaeolithic have been discovered. The plain is the result of continued sedimentary deposition, infilling the former embayment and pushing the coastline westwards. A large deltaic floodplain now separates Butrint from the coast by over 2 km, with seaward access via the Vivari Channel. It is, however, this fast evolving landscape that allowed the expansion of the settlement onto the alluvial floodplain during the establishment of the Roman colony at Butrint. The driving mechanisms behind this environmental change relate to a complex sequence of eustatic sea-level changes over the last 15,000 years and marked changes in sediment supply as a result of climatic patterns, anthropogenically induced hill-slope erosion and tectonic changes affecting both the coastal plain and areas of sediment supply. Despite a growing body of research for the Epirus region, the relative importance of causal factors is still widely debated.[3] The detailed examination of underlying sediments described below reveals the complicated relationship between physical and cultural processes, which are closely interwoven, with many potential feedback mechanisms possible.[4] Today the valley floor is divided into large sub-rectangular fields by a grid-like network of drainage and irrigation channels as a result of a succession of agricultural engineering works by the former communist regime since the 1950s, which have led to dramatic topographical and hydromorphological changes.

Borehole evidence from the Vrina Plain

Two borehole transects were undertaken on the Vrina plain, close to the extant building remains, to investigate the underlying geomorphological formation and establish an environmental framework for the settlement. Representative stratigraphic sections were constructed along each transect, shown in Figure 7.1. The transects reveal a number of raised gravel ridges of small- to medium-sized, well-rounded pebbles. These are common features of river mouths and can be particularly prominent at the confluence of major rivers, often emerging as break-point bars. It is likely that the origin of these features can be found in earlier river systems within the valley, under the far more dynamic regimes of the Pleistocene or early Holocene. The extent of these gravel formations might be indicated by the distribution of woodland vegetation recorded within a series of aerial photographs taken in 1943. These predate the agricultural engineering works and record a landscape largely untouched since the medieval period. Figure 7.2 shows the location of woodland stands within the study area (likely to be alder (*Alnus* spp.) and oak (*Quercus* spp.)), which tend to favour better-drained soils. It can be seen that a general correlation exists between the woodland margins and the edge of the formation recorded in Transect 1 (Fig. 7.1).

It seems likely that Roman settlement was specifically located upon this area of relatively firm, well-drained ground.

The basal sequence, Unit VI, *c*. 1.5 m below the current ground surface consists of a dark bluish grey homogenous clay with occasional, very small shell fragments. This unit represents deposition within an open water/marine environment and relates to the large coastal embayment (of which present day Lake Butrint and Lake Bufi represent a remnant) that existed at the sea level transgressive maxima, *c*. 8,000 years BP.[5] This rise in sea level during the mid-Holocene would have had a dramatic effect upon the local hydrology of the valley, leading to the development of lower energy anastomosing river formations, depositing considerable sediment loads within the embayment.[6] Increasing anthropogenic influence within the catchment in the early Bronze Age may also have produced waves of sediment that passed down the valley in punctuated phases of aggradation.[7] These processes would have led to the gradual emergence of estuarine depositional zones in the form of rapidly prograding deltas, separated by a network of dentric channels and creeks.[8] One such channel can be clearly seen between Cores 1 and 5 along Transect 1, with the course of the channel migrating laterally in a north-easterly direction over time. The course of this channel is still visible on the aerial photograph shown in Figure 7.2.

The gradual development of a stable wetland environment is demonstrated by Unit V, a very dark grey organic rich, silty clay deposit. A small 0.5 litre sample from Core 19 at a depth of 1.90 m revealed a rich waterlogged plant assemblage containing numerous fruits and seeds from wetland plants, such as *Schoenoplectus lacustris* (Bulrush) with brackish and marshland species also present.[9] However, the environment appears to have remained sensitive to changes in the relative sea level, and Unit IV, a dark grey homogenous clay with few inclusions, indicates a rise in the water level and the flooding of wetland areas. It is hard to assess the date of this marine incursion. Local tectonic activity is likely to be an important factor, potentially leading to sudden and highly localised changes in relative sea level. The upper layers of the sequence are composed of alluvial silts derived from the surrounding catchment through the over-bank flooding of the river channels and creeks that meandered across the floodplain. Units I and II are composed of greyish brown silty loams and represent the final phases of floodplain formation. It is possible that they represent two discrete phases of alluviation, although modern land-use may have mixed the uppermost unit. Unit III, a very dark grey silty clay with a moderate iron staining, is somewhat variable and seems to represent a transitional environment and the onset of the alluvial deposition of terrestrial sediments. The boundary between Units II and III is consistently sharp, suggesting that the initial phases of widespread alluviation occurred rapidly. An archaeomagnetic date from basal alluvial deposits overlying a collapsed wall section, exposed within a modern drainage ditch indicates an onset of increased alluviation at around 800 AD.[10] Correspondingly enhanced levels of magnetic susceptibility possibly suggest an increase in soil erosion. During this phase, the rate of deposition may well have been as high as 1 to 3 cm per year, while charcoal records also appear to show a sharp dip at this time, suggesting a marked change in the catchment in terms of land-use.[11]

The geophysical survey

Geophysical prospecting at Butrint has in the past proved successful in locating areas of the Roman settlement today concealed by alluvial deposits.[12] However, the protracted nature of settlement and the effects of later land use strategies have given rise to a complex set of results that contain high levels of noise, often making interpretation difficult. To address these problems, a targeted re-investigation has been undertaken within key areas highlighted in previous work using high-precision survey techniques and a range of specially developed data processing routines. The survey was undertaken using a highly sensitive caesium vapour magnetometer, mounted upon an experimental wheeled cart, giving increased precisional control and less variation in sensor height, reducing uncorrelated measurement errors.[13] The survey encompassed an area of 3.7 ha and focussed upon the area of extant building remains, as well as on a small discrete building structure 170 m to the northeast associated with the remains of a bath-house exposed within a nearby drainage ditch.

The survey results are shown in Figures 7.3 and 7.4, having been linearly interpolated to a resolution of 0.25 × 0.25 m and a low-pass Gaussian filter applied. It can be seen that the survey results reveal a fairly clear map of surviving sub-surface elements, showing the overall plan of the settlement and the layout of a number of individual buildings and possible streets. Building outlines are recorded as linear negative (black) anomalies, often strongly contrasted by larger, more diffuse positive anomalous responses. It is likely that these negative linear responses are caused by surviving wall elements of predominantly limestone (non-magnetic) construction. The associated positive anomalies might then be due to magnetic material such as fired clay, brick and tiles filling adjoining spaces. Similar magnetic responses from Roman building remains have been recorded at Wroxeter and at Falerii Novi in the Tiber Valley.[14]

Archaeological interpretation

The negative anomalies interpreted as surviving wall sections above follow a definite southeast–northwest alignment, which is essentially parallel to the line of the aqueduct and indicate the planned nature of the settlement at its foundation. It is unfortunate that the alignment of

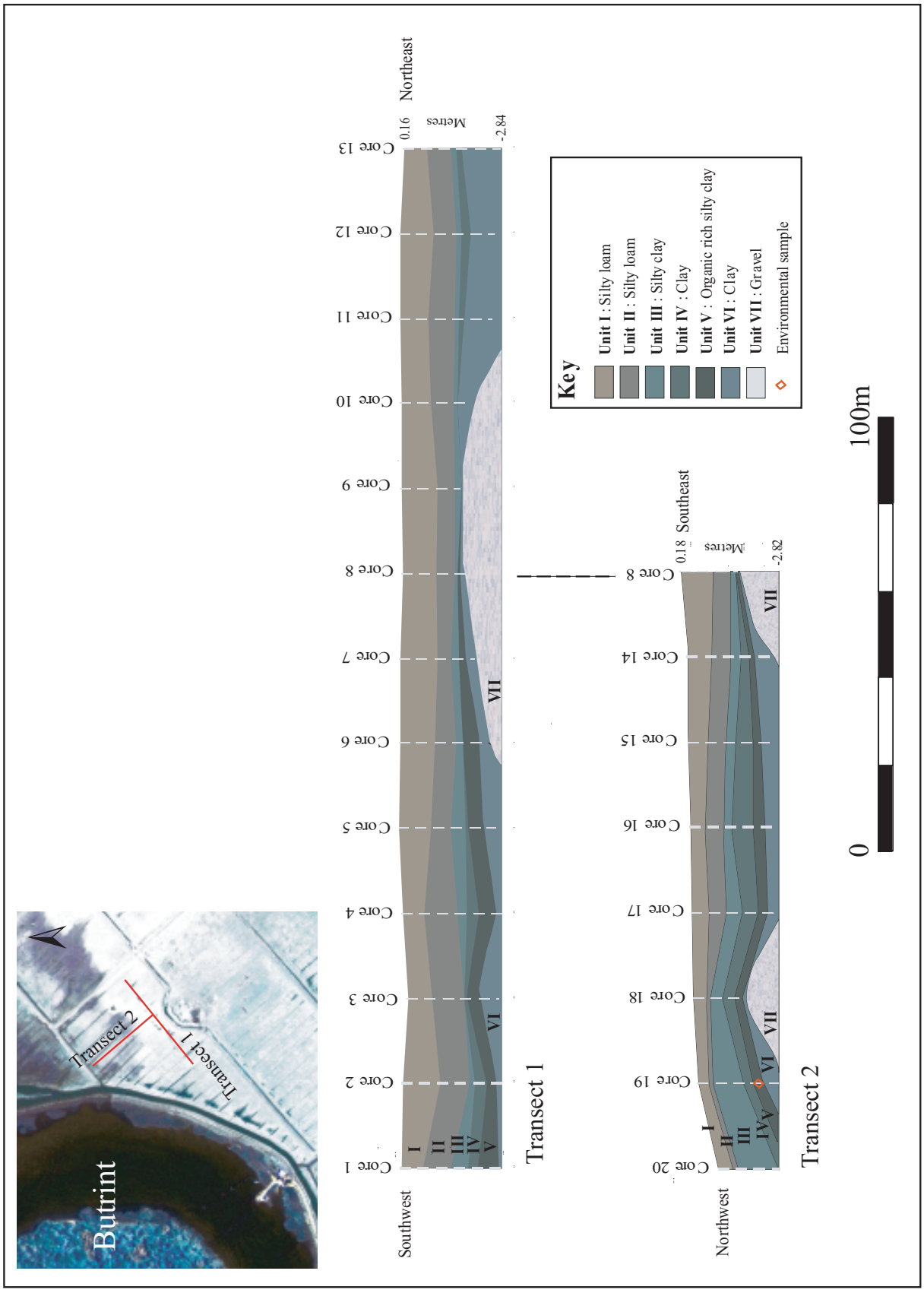

Fig. 7.1 Reconstructed stratigraphic sections along the two borehole transects (D. J. Bescoby; insert after satellite image by DigitalGlobe 2001)

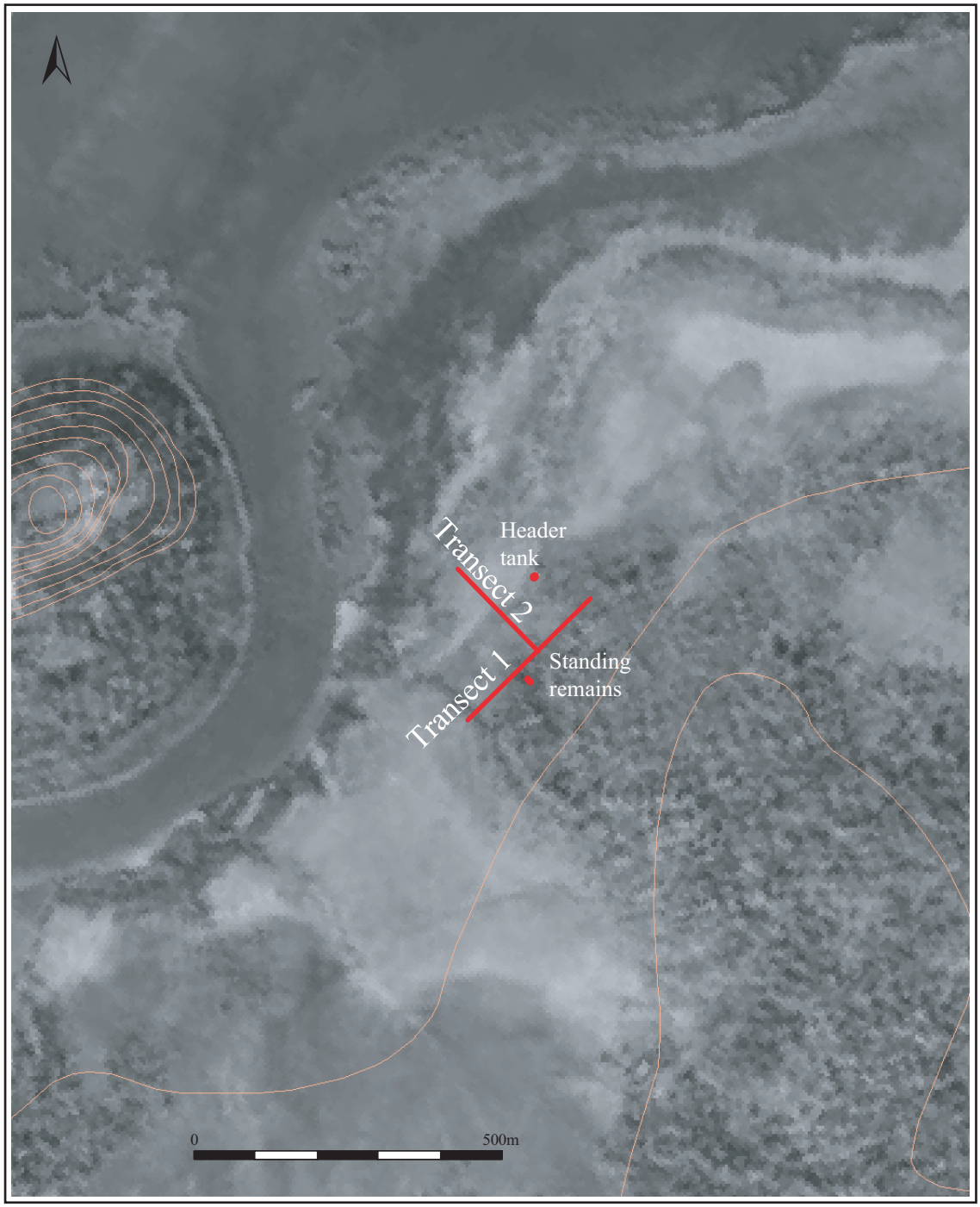

Fig. 7.2 Map showing an overlay of 1943 aerial photographs onto the study area, with modern shoreline data (Crown copyright 1943/MOD; D. J. Bescoby)

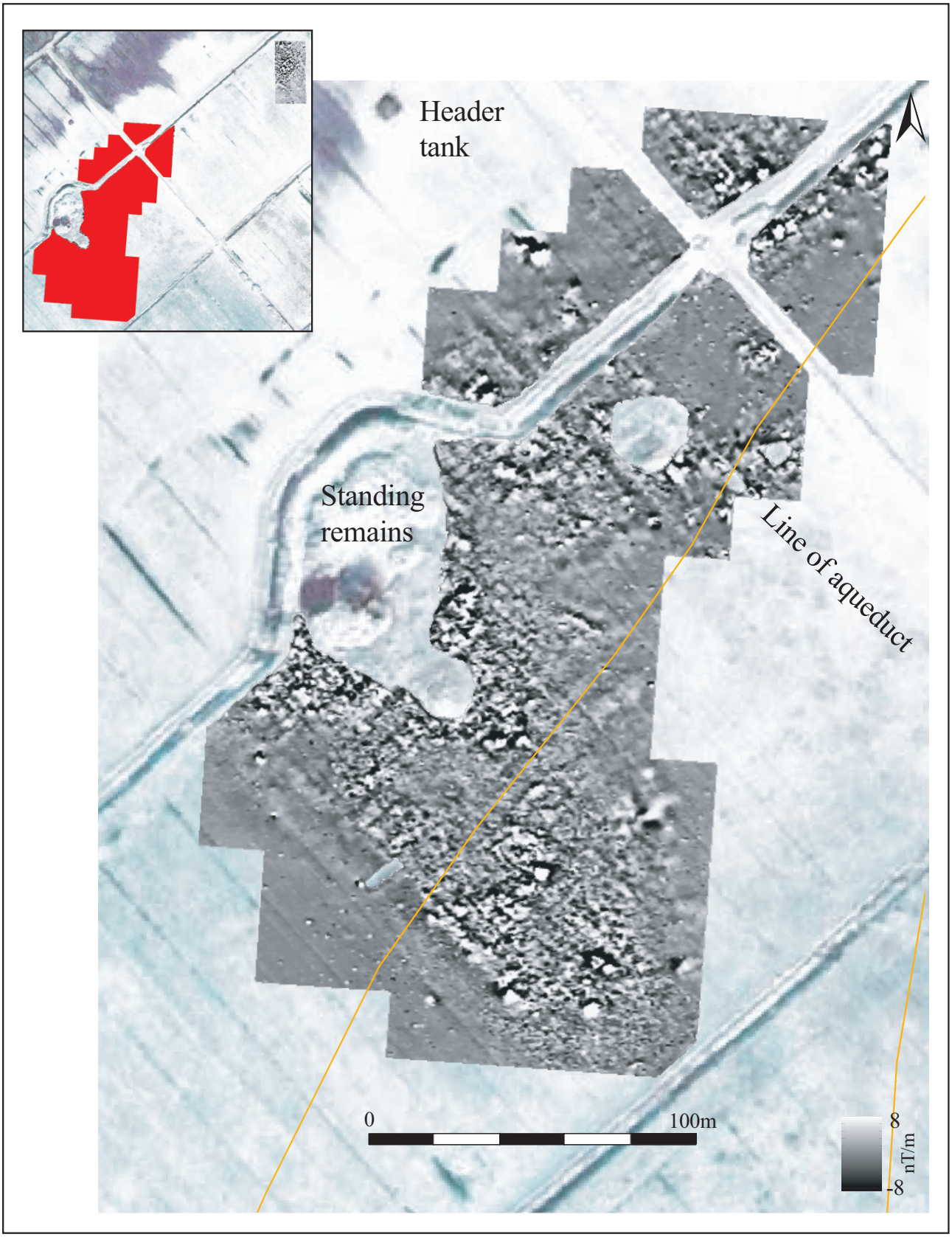

Fig. 7.3 Magnetic survey results encompassing the main area of settlement (D. J. Bescoby; satellite image by DigitalGlobe 2001)

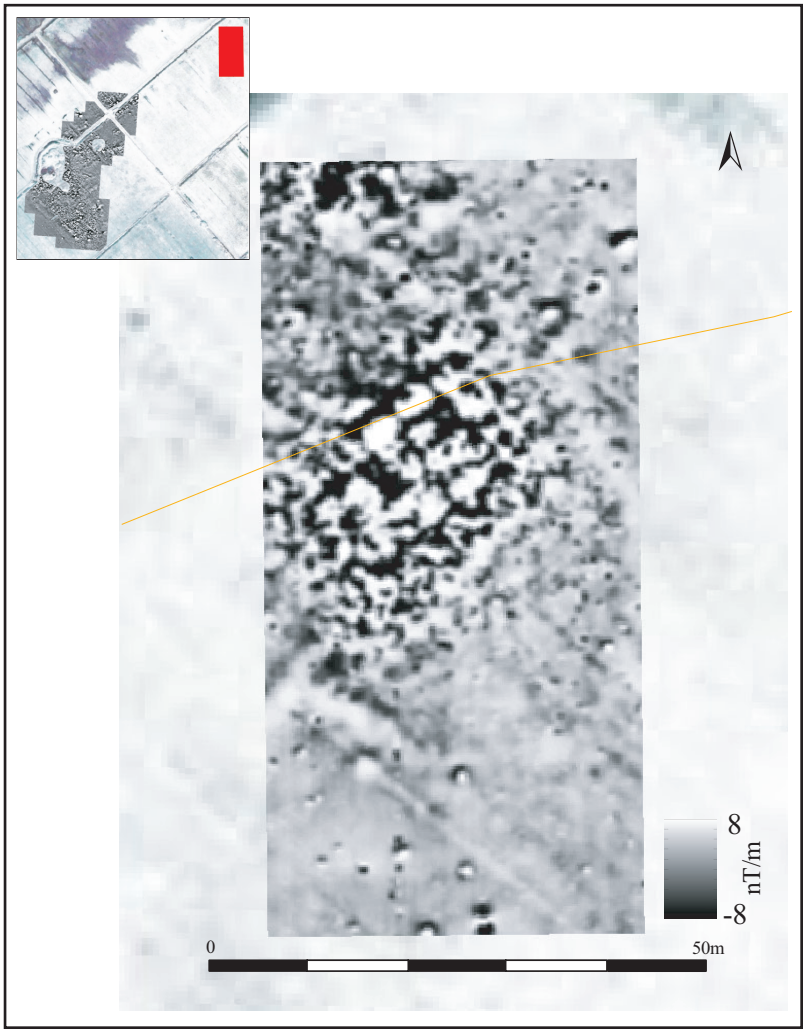

Fig. 7.4 Magnetic survey results encompassing outlying building (D. J. Bescoby; satellite image by DigitalGlobe 2001)

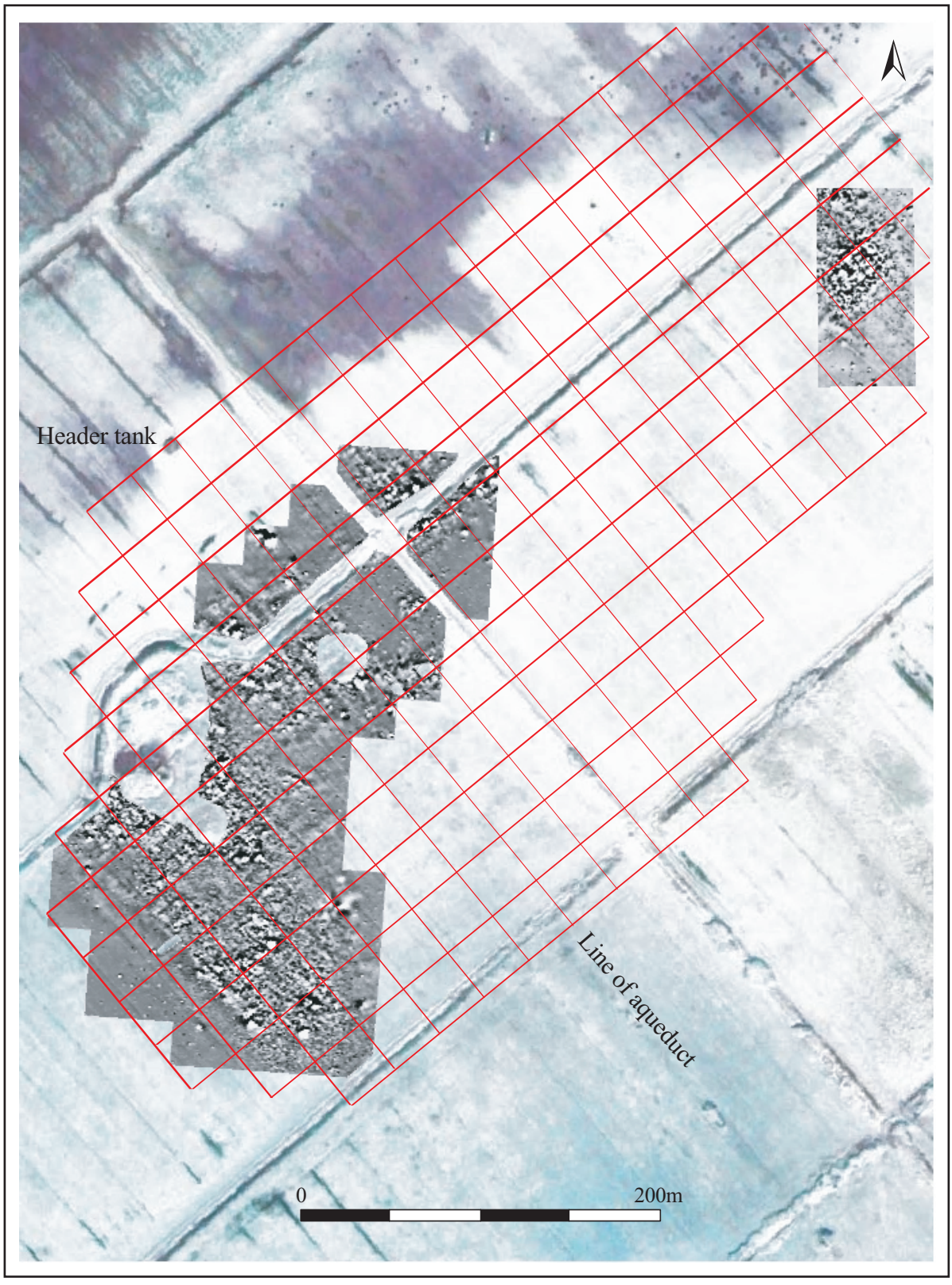

Fig. 7.5 A 1 actus *grid (1* actus *= 35.35 metres) overlain over the survey results (D. J. Bescoby; satellite image by DigitalGlobe 2001)*

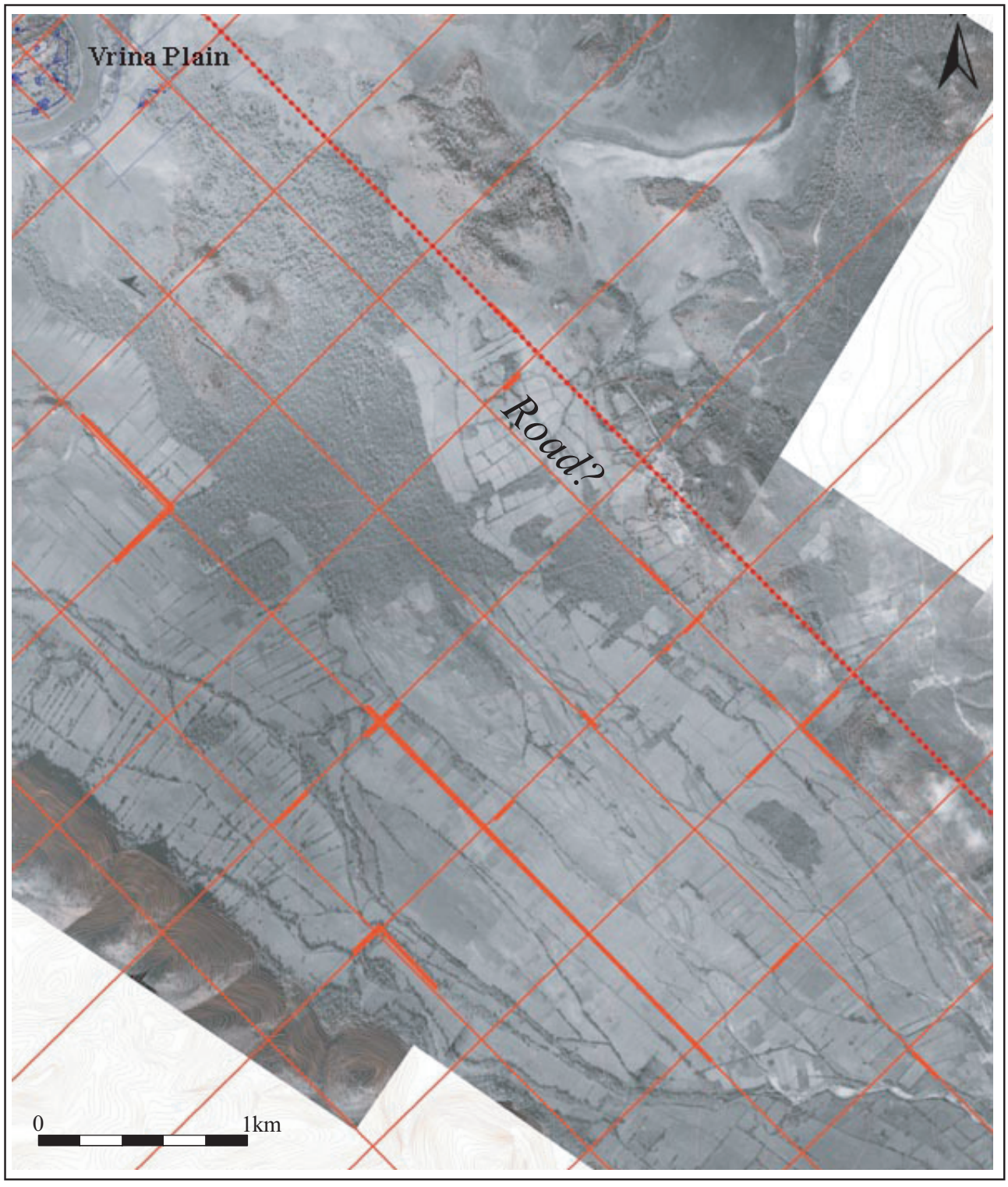

Fig. 7.6 Division of the surrounding landscape, showing alignments detected within the aerial photographs corresponding with a 20 by 20 actus *grid. Proposed survey alignment shown as dashed line (D. J. Bescoby; Crown copyright 1943/MOD)*

Fig. 7.7 Interpretation of the magnetic survey results (D. J. Bescoby; satellite image by DigitalGlobe 2001)

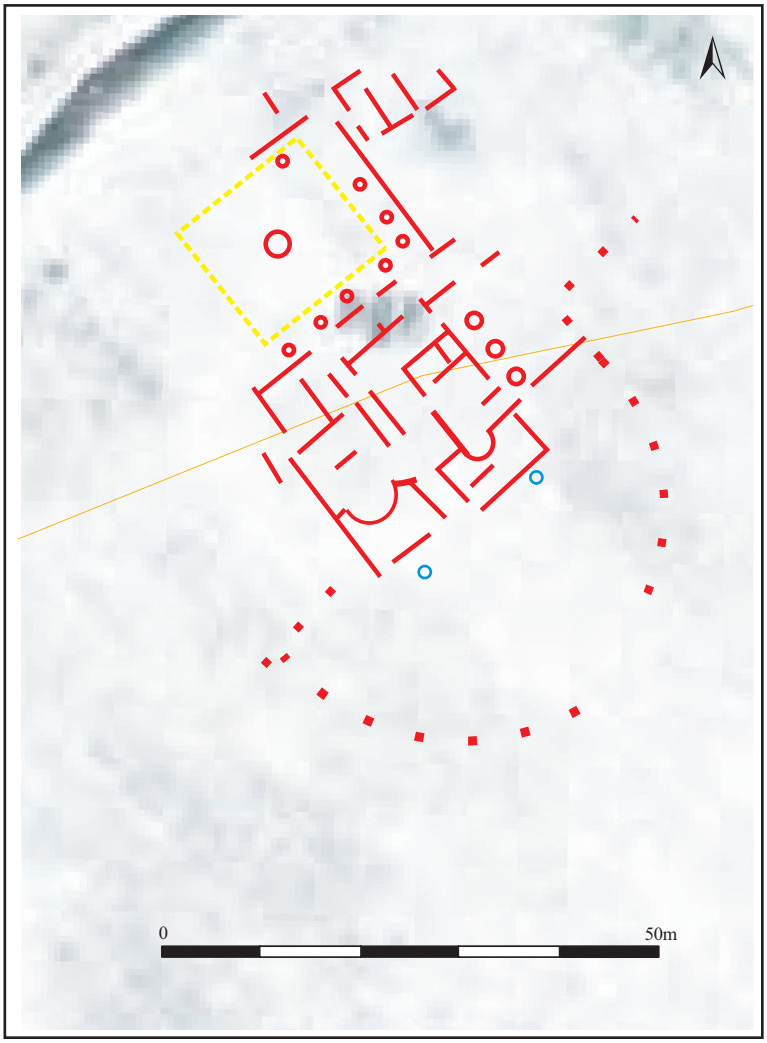

Fig. 7.8 Interpretation of the magnetic survey results for Building 1 (D. J. Bescoby; satellite image by DigitalGlobe 2001)

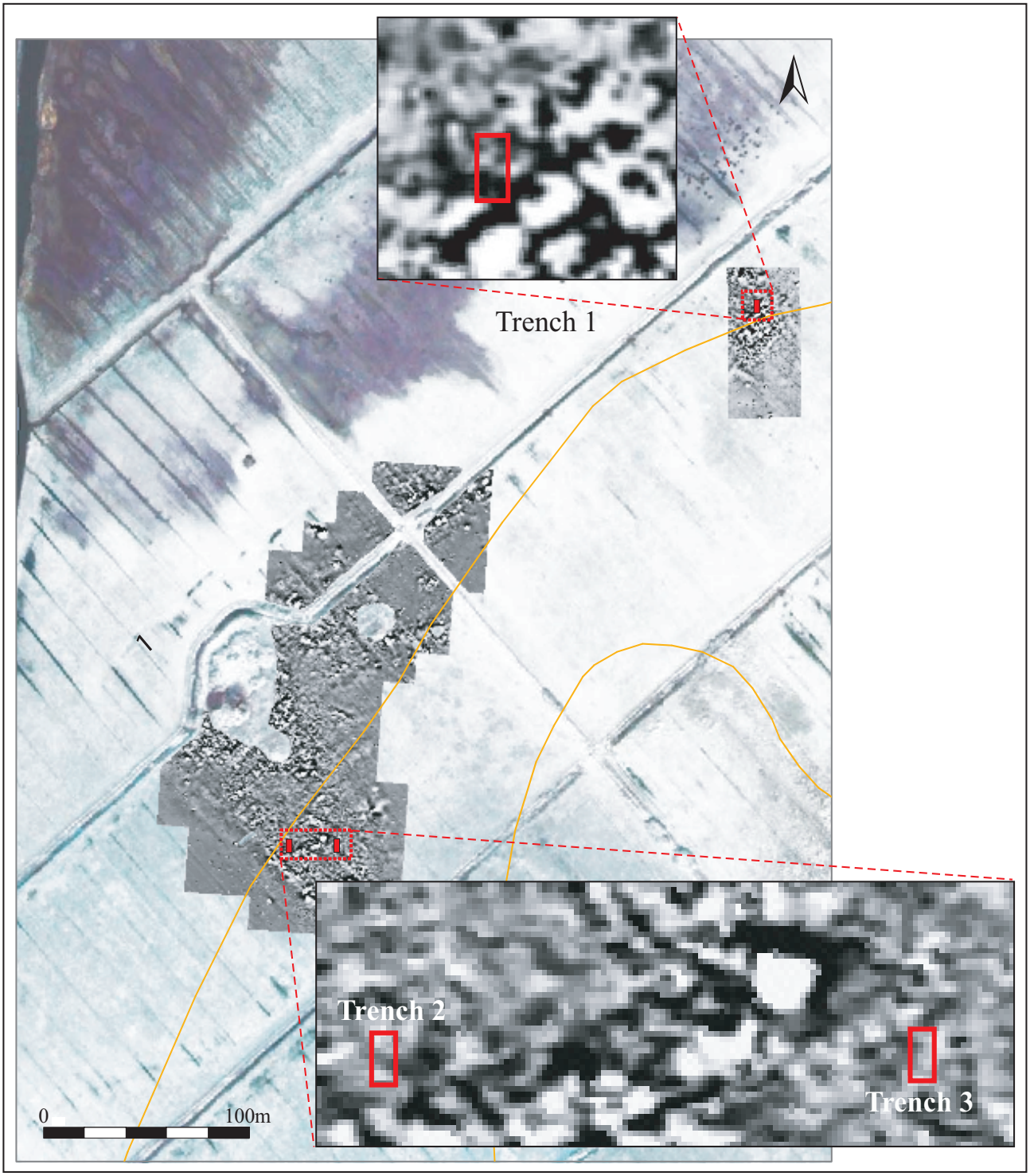

Fig. 7.9 Location of test trenches (D. J. Bescoby; satellite image by DigitalGlobe 2001)

Fig. 7.10 Wall features revealed in Trench 1, looking north east (D. J. Bescoby)

Fig. 7.11 Wall feature and plaster floor revealed in Trench 2, looking north west (D. J. Bescoby)

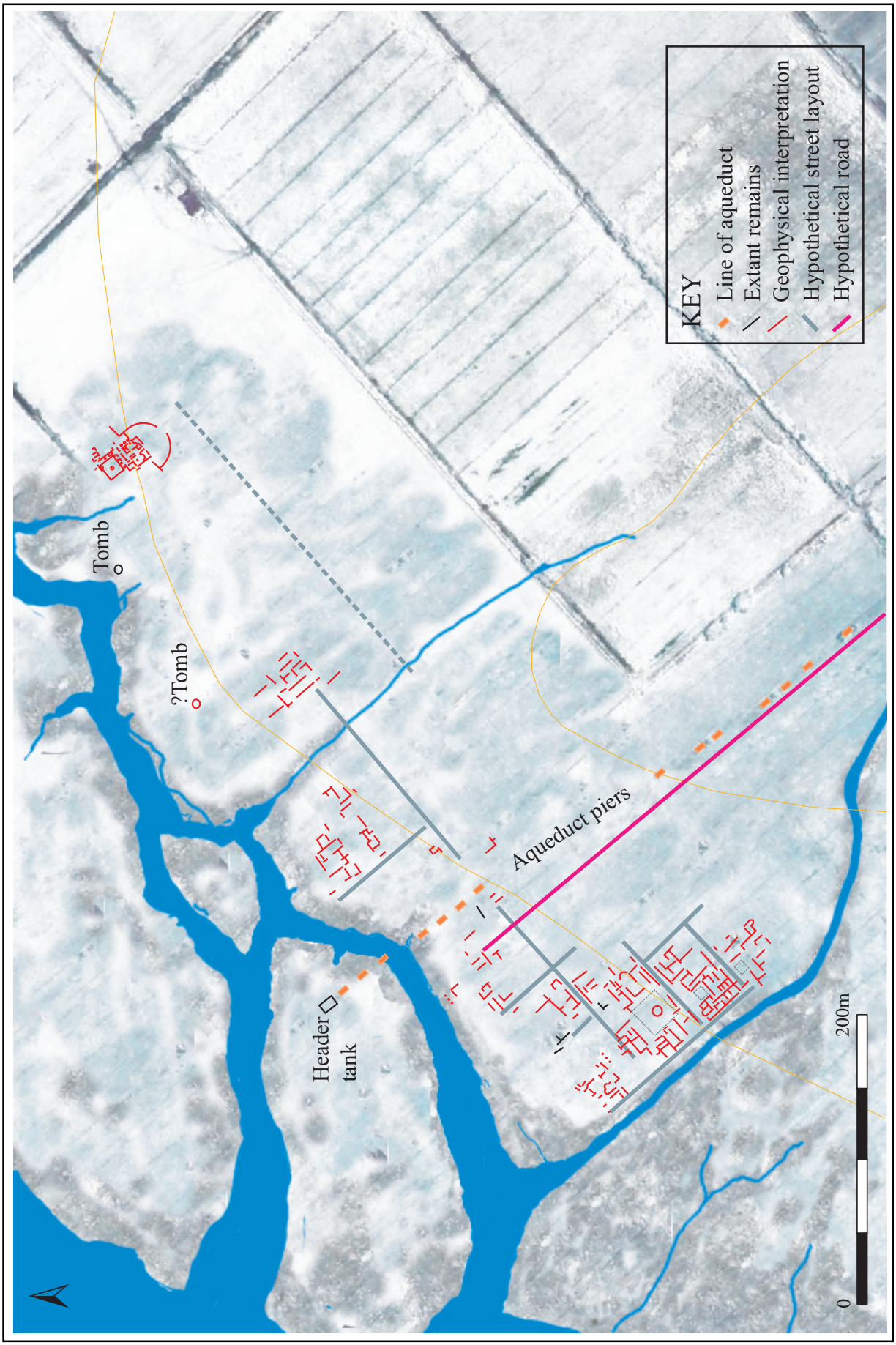

Fig. 7.12 Topographic interpretation of Roman Butrint upon the Vrina Plain (D. J. Bescoby)

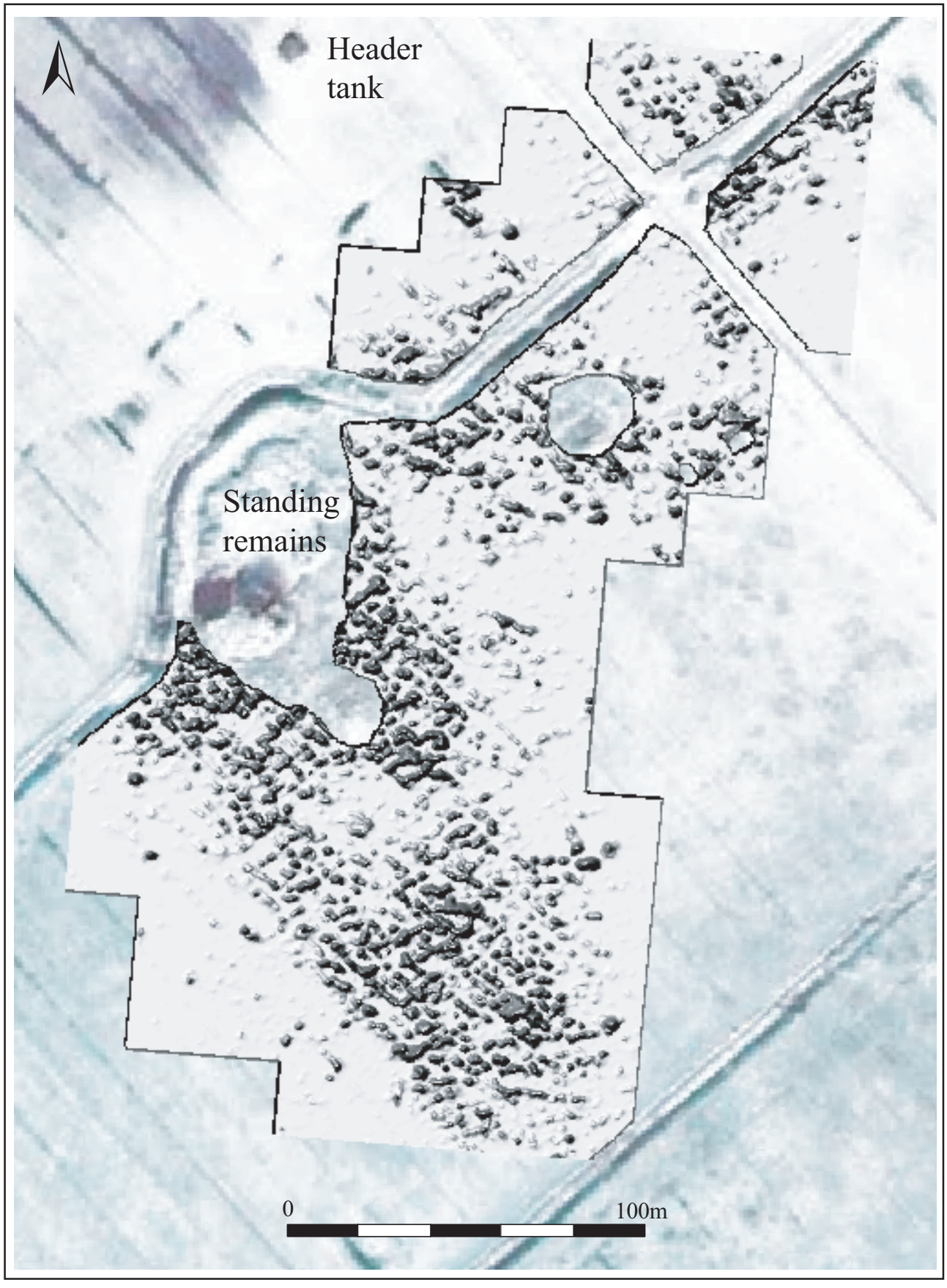

Fig. 7.13 Shaded relief plot of predicted wall features (D. J. Bescoby; satellite image by DigitalGlobe 2001)

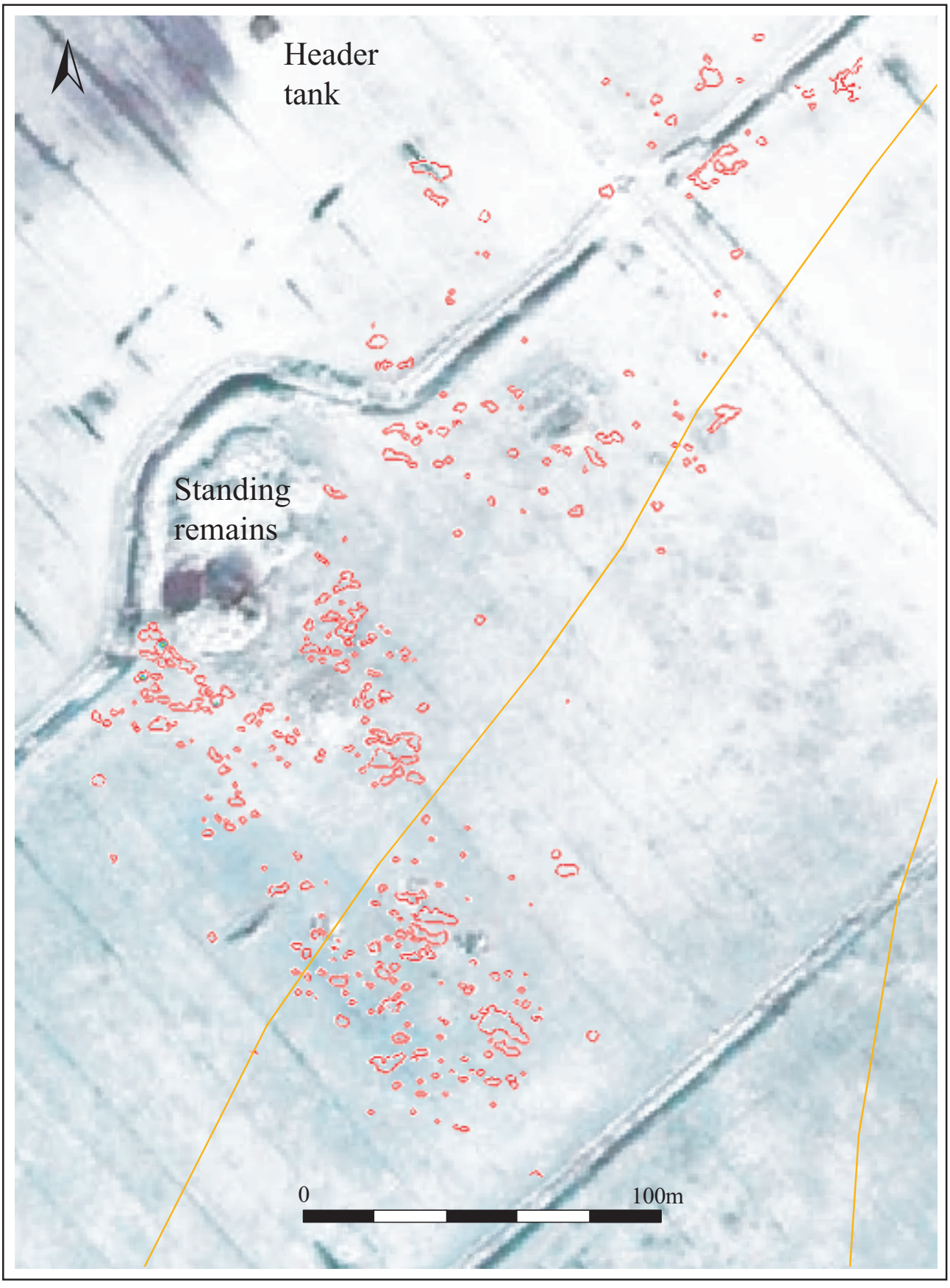

Fig. 7.14 Plot of predicted wall elements within 0.5 metres of the current ground surface (D. J. Bescoby; satellite image by DigitalGlobe 2001)

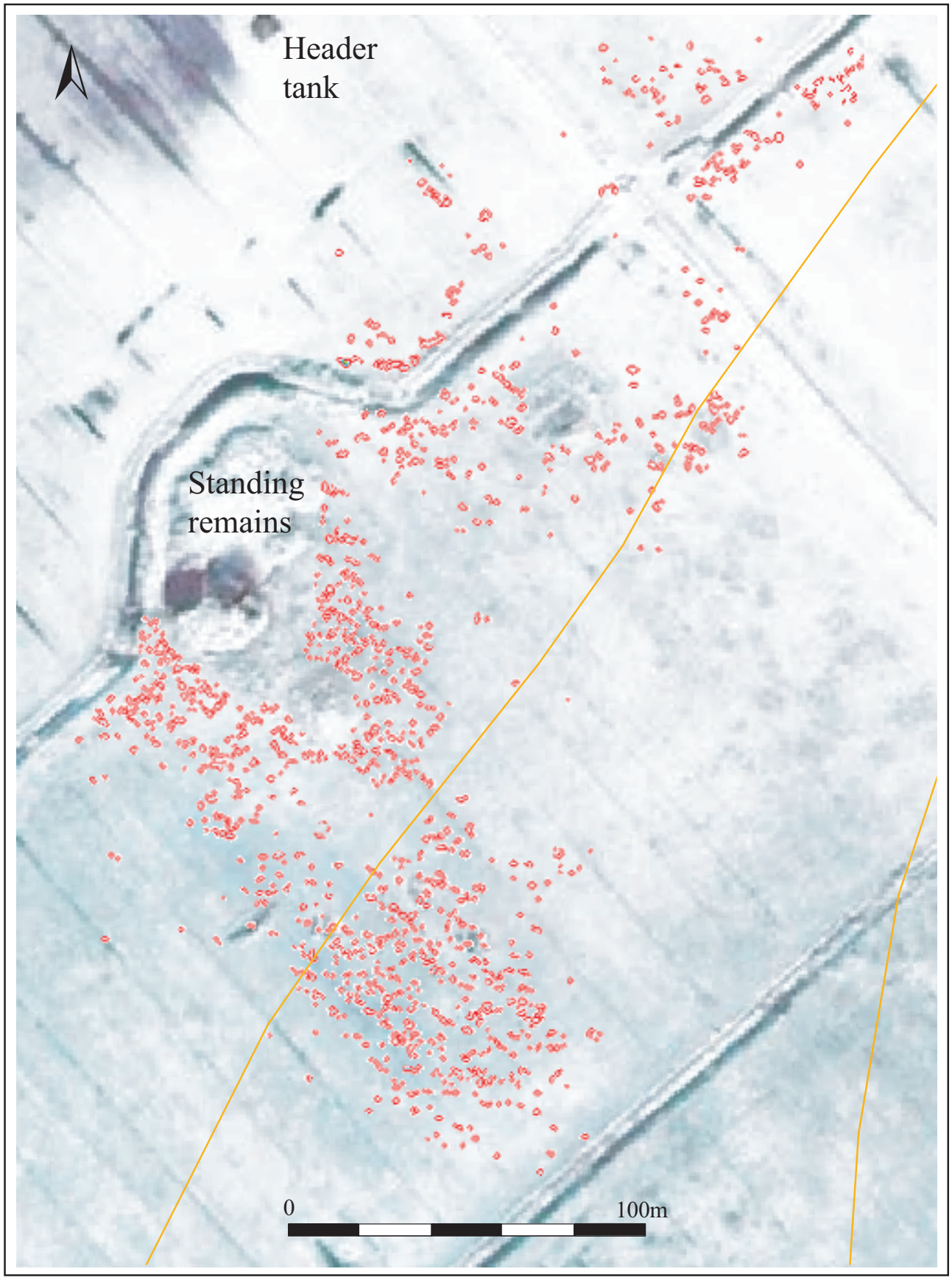

Fig. 7.15 Plot of predicted wall elements at a depth of more than 0.5 metres of the current ground surface (D. J. Bescoby; satellite image by DigitalGlobe 2001)

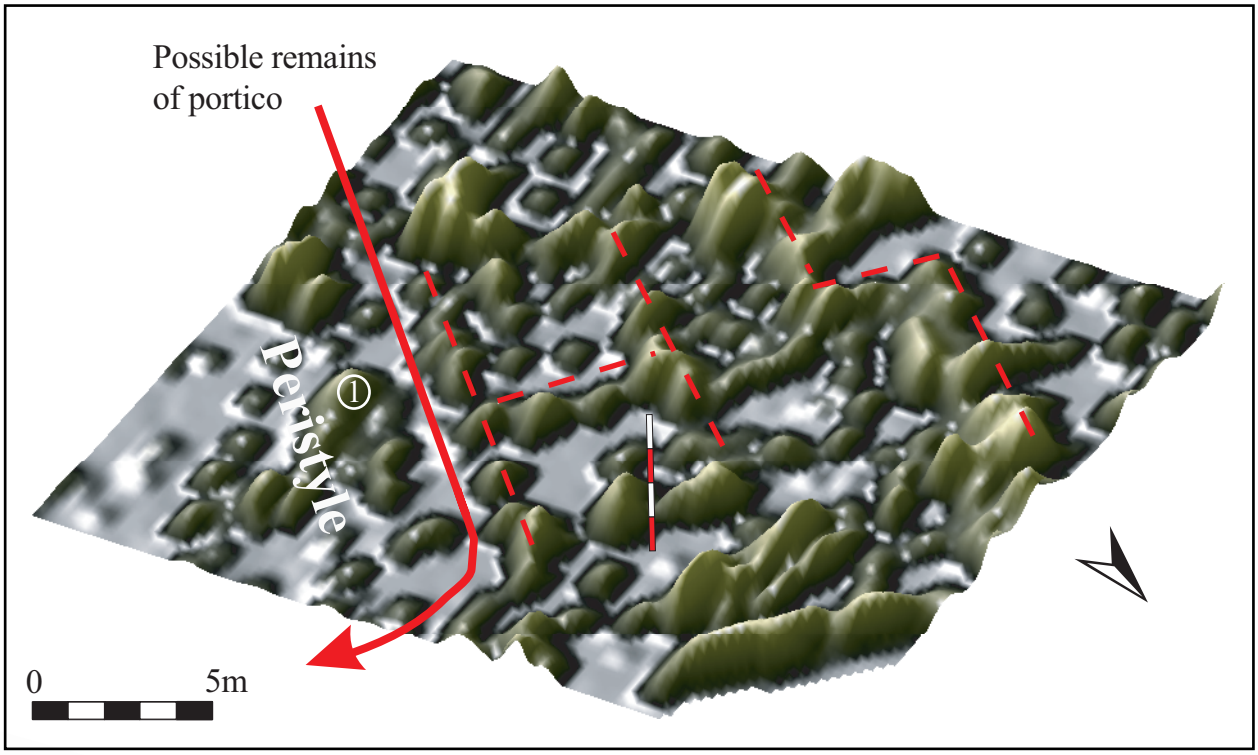

Fig. 7.16 Three-dimensional representation of building remains along the north west boundary of the peristyle, looking southwest (D. J. Bescoby)

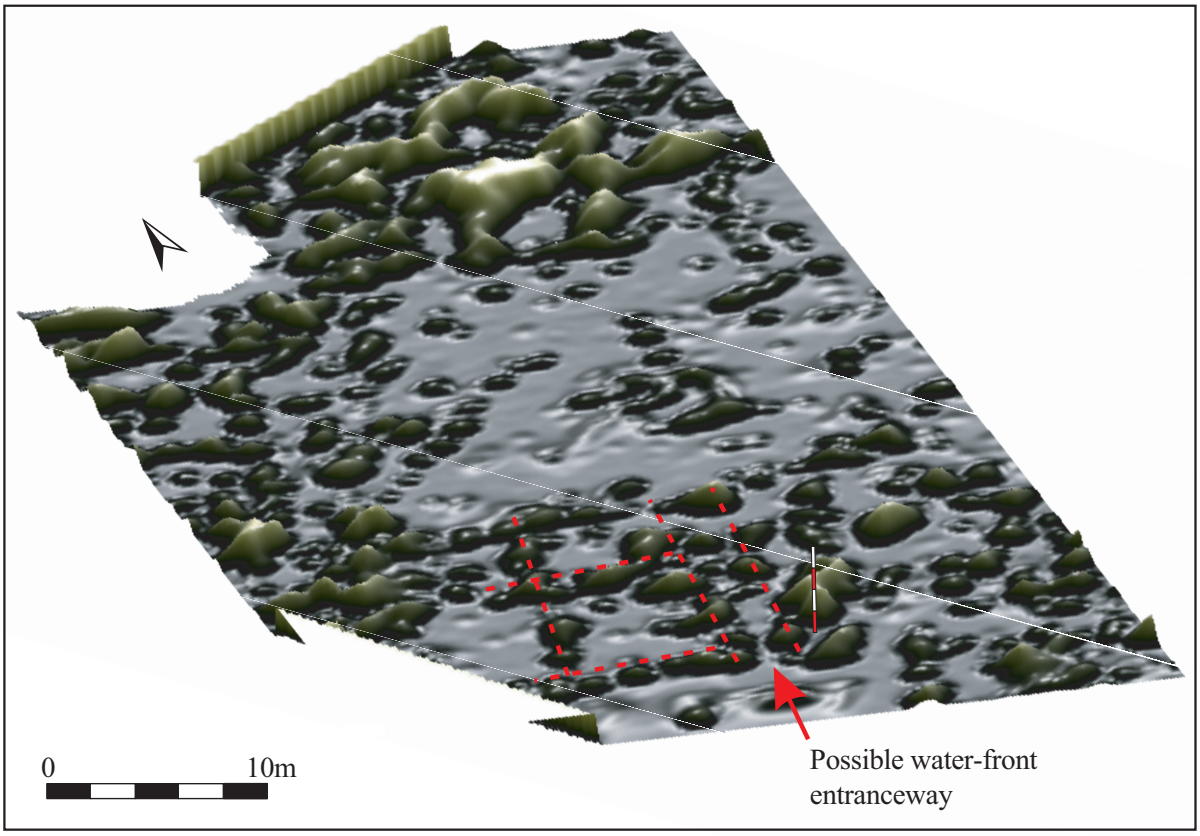

Fig. 7.17 Three-dimensional representation of south western range of building, showing position of possible channel side entranceway, viewed facing north east (vertical scale: 1 division = 0.25 m) (D. J. Bescoby)

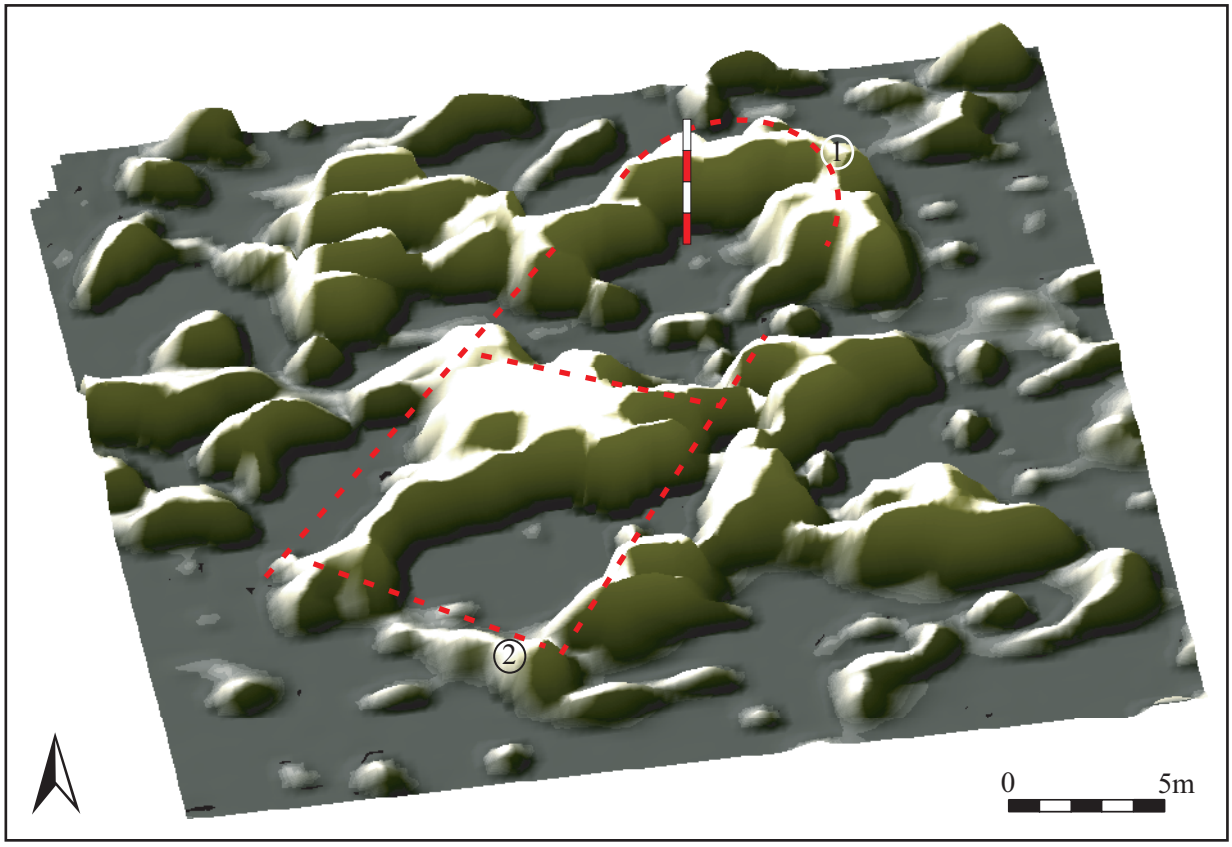

Fig. 7.18 Three-dimensional representation of possible triclinium *looking north (vertical scale: 1 division = 0.25 m) (D. J. Bescoby)*

the modern field drains, clearly visible within the survey data as linear anomalies, is the same as the principal alignment of the settlement. In many areas of the surveyed settlement the magnetic responses, although strong, are much less clear and are not so easily interpreted. This was one of the problems highlighted by the initial geophysical survey of the area.[15] Ploughing is likely to have had a detrimental effect upon the Vrina Plain and past agricultural engineering works have led to the creation of large surface scatters of building material. The duration and complexity of individual phases of settlement, the effects of which are cumulative within the measured geophysical response, also need to be considered. Within Butrint there is evidence for reorganisation and rebuilding throughout the Roman period, often involving the growth of individual properties. Much of the building material was recycled in a process of gradual or intermittent quarrying of earlier buildings.[16]

The layout of the earliest colonial phase of the settlement would have been based upon a principal alignment or baseline, from which all subsequent axial measurements for buildings, *insulae* and centuriation were squared off and set out.[17] From this alignment, the grid of the settlement street plan and land allotments would be laid out. Individual *insulae* within the street grid may be of a single *actus* or consist of larger units, such as the 1 × 2 *actus* (or 1 *iugerum*) *insulae* recorded at Corinth.[18] In order to assess possible divisions within the surveyed area, a 1 *actus* grid (1 *actus* = 35.35 metres) was overlaid onto the survey results within a GIS database, shown in Figure 7.5, taking the main alignment along the aqueduct. The initial *actus* measurement was derived from work at Corinth. It can be seen that the main elements of the recorded settlement appear to respect this grid layout, which in the context of a planned urban space is likely to represent small blocks of buildings or *insulae* divided by a street grid.

Roman colonisation is normally also accompanied by a rearrangement of the surrounding countryside.[19] Roman land surveyors, utilising the *actus* as the basic unit of measure, would have subsequently divided the surrounding landscape into discrete land parcels, orientated with the principle axis of the settlement. Here the main division is a 'century', commonly a square of 20 by 20 *actus* after the Augustan age, equivalent to 50.4 hectares.[20] Using aerial photographs of the valley taken by the R.A.F. in 1943 and specially developed image

processing software utilising Radon transforms, an analysis of the surrounding landscape for surviving features following the same alignment as the colony was undertaken. The results are shown in Figure 7.6, where detected alignments are indicated as bold lines upon a composite aerial photographic image. It was then possible to construct a hypothetical grid layout based on the distances between identified alignments. The resulting grid was found to measure 20 by 20 *actus*, shown in Figure 7.6 overlain onto the aerial photographic data, and correlates with the proposed settlement grid (Fig. 7.5) in terms of *actus* divisible distances. The principal alignment from which the original alignment of the colony was taken, can also be derived by relating the angle of settlement alignment to topographical features within the surrounding landscape using the GIS. An angular correlation was found to exist between the Hellenistic settlement of Çuka e Aitoit and a peak on Mount Sotirës, the hill north-west of Butrint, suggesting that this served as the cardinal line for surveying and laying-out the landscape. Tracts of this line, as it happens, follow the hill upon which is located part of the modern settlement of Xarra. Sections of the alignment may, of course, have followed a pre-existing road, though it seems likely that an alignment running parallel at approximately 200m to the southwest served as the spur road that led to the route leading to the main coastal road from Aulon to Nicopolis (Fig. 7.6). Towards Butrint, the proposed road line runs along the edge of the plain, flanking the low hills of Shën Dimitri, and the cemetery located there.[21] It would have terminated either in the open space identified in front of the honorific column, or perhaps proceeded by this Monument towards the bridge (which also carried the aqueduct) leading into Butrint.[22] Within Butrint, the only building to follow this exact alignment is the temple above the theatre. Interestingly, during the image analysis described, traces of another set of land divisions following the same alignment, but conforming to units divisible by 12 and 16 *actus* also was detected. This could well relate to an earlier system of division, pre-dating the establishment of the colony.[23]

In order to aid the interpretation of the geophysical survey results, coherent linear anomalies and other clearly recognisable anomalous features were traced from survey results to form an interpretive plan (Fig. 7.7). The inferred street network is based upon the grid postulated in Figure 7.5 and upon magnetically quieter areas, which seem to flank the edges of some building remains. The resulting grid is not entirely regular and it is possible that *insulae* were not of exactly uniform size. As the settlement changed over time, irregularities in the overall form of the street plan are likely to have developed. Some well-defined structures clearly extend across several squares, such as Building 2. This trend might well represent later phases of settlement involving the substantial remodelling and expansion of building plans, a well-known phenomenon in late Roman towns.[24]

Two fairly coherent building plans can be seen in the southwest portion of the settlement, labelled Buildings 2 and 3 (Fig. 7.7). The first is dominated by a large, square open space or peristyle of *c*. 27 × 27 m, with a possibly circular feature in the centre. The extensive range of buildings to the southeast (Building 3) is also well defined within the survey and appears to include a small peristyle. The hypothesised street layout suggests that Buildings 2 and 3 at one time occupied individual plots or *insulae*, functioning as separate buildings. However, the building plan revealed by the geophysical survey makes more sense archaeologically if they are viewed as a single building. In this hypothesis, the peristyle courtyard feature becomes central, surrounded on all sides by ranges of buildings that overall form a substantial complex measuring *c*. 62 × 145 m (over half a hectare). Immediately northeast of the peristyle, there appears to be a centrally located rectangular building, defined by a strong set of negative magnetic anomalies, that could be interpreted as a *triclinium*. To the southeast of this hypothesised complex, the magnetic responses recorded within the vicinity of Building 4 are far more indistinct, allowing no clear building plan to be obtained. It is tempting to suggest that these remains represent an earlier, possibly abandoned and quarried phase of the settlement. Within the northeast corner of the survey results there is another coherent structure (Building 8) with a large plan, bisected by the drainage channel.[25] The associated anomalous responses are distinct, although no clear building plan can be detected that might indicate function. There are a number of strong positive linear anomalies present that may indicate the extensive use of brick within the construction of walls.

Two major areas of possible industrial activity are highlighted in Figure 7.7, visible as discrete, high intensity anomalies in Figure 7.3. Areas where industrial activities involving hearths and kilns have taken place generally show up well within magnetic surveys, since materials subject to heat and burning become highly magnetic relative to their surroundings. Concentrated industrial activity can also lead to the localised deposition of highly magnetic materials, forming the distinctive widespread magnetic response observed. A concentration of vitrified burnt clay deposits have been recorded within the vicinity of the large area of industrial activity indicated in Figure 7.7, northeast of Building 3.[26] The identified areas, situated at the edge of detected buildings, appear to mark the extent of the settlement. Industrial areas are most likely to be located on the edge of settlements to minimise potential fire risks and localised air pollution. While it is hard to imagine an industrial site so close to a prestigious town house, changes to the urban fabric known to have taken place in late antiquity may have led to the re-use of former urban dwellings.

Building 7, interpreted as a small discrete structure might well represent the remains of a fairly large tomb or temple structure (Fig. 7.7). The anomaly presented by

the northwest element of Building 6 follows a similar plan, although its close proximity to the drainage ditch makes it unclear as to how it relates to the building further south. Within the *colonia* morphology at Butrint, it is also important to consider the surrounding waterways as transport routes, and it is possible that a number of burial monuments lining waterways might pre-date the establishment of the colony, becoming subsequently incorporated within the new expanded cityscape.

An interpretation of the results for the outlying building (Building 1) is shown in Figure 7.8. The size and arrangement of buildings surrounding the hypothesised peristyle would be keeping with a bath-house and associated palaestra.[27] To the southeast there appears to be the remains of a grandiose entrance in the form of a semi-circular exedra.

Ground-truth data

In order to understand more fully the results of the geophysical survey and to test the general interpretation, three small (5 × 2 m) test trenches were excavated over magnetic anomalies recorded within the geophysical survey (see Fig. 7.9). The test trenches also allowed for an analysis of underlying soils and sediment. The first trench was targeted to intersect what appeared, from the survey results, to be a well-defined wall section along the northeastern edge of Building 1 and revealed two major wall structures shown in Figure 7.10. Construction was of a mortared rubble core faced with large, dressed limestone blocks; the wall tops surviving 0.3 metres below the current ground surface. The wall running northwest–southeast steps downward 0.4 metres to form a possible entranceway. Within the southwest corner, crushed pot and tile fragments formed a compact surface 0.85 m below the current ground level, while a slot excavated against the northeast facing wall revealed a second floor level at 1.02 m. The trench confirms that the limestone wall features are responsible for the well-defined negative magnetic responses recorded within the survey, contrasting strongly with the more magnetic infilling destruction layers containing a high percentage of brick and tile. The second test trench was targeted over a far weaker negative linear anomaly in the southwest corner of Building 3 and revealed the remains of a substantial limestone wall running northwest–southeast through the centre of the test trench. The wall consists of a compact, mortared rubble core faced with neatly coursed limestone blocks and survives to a height of 0.59 m below the current ground surface. The wall is associated with an *opus signinum* floor to the north, 1.24 m below the surface, shown in Figure 7.11. Within the southern portion of the trench, remnants of a second later floor level of a coarse *cocciopesto* surface survives at a depth of 0.84 m, overlying a spread of make-up rubble and cut by a later robber trench. The recorded stratigraphy is complex in terms of depositional phases, and includes pronounced dark brown layer *c*. 0.1 m thick at a depth of 0.42 m. The trench, however, confirms that wall sections of limestone construction surviving to a depth of 0.7 m below the modern ground surface are detectable within the magnetic survey. The third trench was targeted over a wide, positive magnetic anomaly running southwest–northeast and initially interpreted as a possible road. However, the trench revealed a large irregular ditch 2.05 m wide and 1.5 m deep, infilled with brick and tile rubble likely to be the source of the recorded magnetic response.

Through a synthesis of the information outlined above and the archaeological interpretation of the survey results, a hypothetical reconstruction of the landscape broadly contemporary with the life of the colony has been attempted. Figure 7.12 shows the interpreted geophysical results (including those derived from previous geophysical surveys) overlaid onto a hypothesised landscape topography, based upon the borehole and aerial photograph evidence as well as analogous parallels with similar coastal depositional environments.

Enhanced interpretation of geophysical results from data processing

Further processing of the geophysical data can often be useful for deriving more specific information about the sources of the anomalies recorded, such as their depth and shape. As part of the geophysical investigation at Butrint, data processing routines were developed utilising artificial neural networks to maximise the amount of information obtainable from the data.[28] Artificial neural networks are a powerful computational tool for performing a functional mapping between a set of input variables (geophysical data) and output or source parameters, such as the depth of detected objects. The optimisation of the neural network mapping is achieved by using a dataset of training data, containing examples of the mapping that the network is to learn. In this case, information from the test trenches and a systematic analysis of recorded soils and sediments was used to derive suitable training data, and the network trained to predict the depth of buried wall foundations. This allowed various sub-surface models of the study area to be derived from the geophysical data.

A relief plot of the predicted sub-surface remains is shown in Figure 7.13 and shows an increased level of clarity over the original magnetic survey data (Fig. 7.3), presenting a much less cluttered picture of the general layout of the settlement. The results show that the surviving wall elements from Buildings 2 and 3 have a generally shallow burial depth. For a multi-phase urban settlement, it would generally be expected (stratigraphically) that later phases would tend to have shallower burial depths, although this does not necessarily preclude the shallow survival of earlier phases of building. Figure 7.14 shows a plot of predicted wall features surviving to within 0.5 m of the current ground surface and it can be seen that there is a clear clustering

of shallow wall elements around the area of extant remains. In particular, the northeastern portion of Building 2 interpreted as a large hall or *triclinium* (Fig. 7.7), has a consistently shallow burial depth and it would appear that these, possibly later phases of settlement, were preferentially sited at this location. It should be noted that this area corresponds approximately to the edge of the gravel formation recorded along Transect 1 (Fig. 7.1). A similar plot of the predicted wall elements surviving at a depth greater than 0.5 m below the current ground surface is shown in Figure 7.15. The predicted remains are spatially more widespread and suggestive of a more regular settlement layout, possibly reflecting the original colonial land allotments or *insulae*. This is particularly true over Building 4, which appears far more structured in layout when the deeper elements are viewed in isolation.

Possibly the most likely explanation for the observed clustering of later settlement remains is that surrounding areas became susceptible to flooding as a result of either over-bank floods or rising groundwater levels.[29] The close proximity of the settlement to two significant channels (see Fig. 7.12) is likely to have presented some seasonal flood risk and defensive banks and drainage ditches were probably employed within the management of the surrounding landscape. The Roman settlement at Butrint would have resulted in fairly major modifications within the valley catchment. Channel straightening, de-forestation and urbanisation all tend to affect the sediment loads of channels, reducing lag times and increasing the likelihood of flash floods.[30] It is interesting that later phases of occupation recorded in Trenches 2 and 3 indicate that surface levels were at least 0.4 m above earlier levels (the late floor level in Trench 2 is *c*. 0.18 m above current sea-level). While building upon earlier destruction layers is expected, it is also possible that there was a deliberate effort to counter rising water levels or episodes of flooding. Within the lower walled city, late antique layers are also found to be a fairly consistent 0.5 m above the early Roman levels.[31] It might also be tentatively suggested that the large ditch feature recorded in Trench 3, which runs in the direction of the nearby channel could be related to drainage issues. An increased risk of flooding might also be linked to a rise in sea-level as a result of local tectonic changes, suggesting a potentially more sudden and relatively catastrophic change in the local environment.[32] There is strong evidence for a rapid succession of large tectonic events centred principally upon the eastern Mediterranean region, often referred to as the Early Byzantine Tectonic Paroxysm.[33] During the 4th century, earthquakes along the coastline of Epirus are recorded within historical accounts.[34] These types of events may have led to extensive damage within the town, including the possible collapse of some of the terraces on the side of the acropolis, and might explain the size and layout of the late Roman domestic complex centred around the peristyle of Building 2. The large, unrestricted proportions of the complex, which apparently covers several former *insulae*, would be explained if previous buildings had been badly damaged or destroyed during a seismic event.

Comprehensive geophysical interpretation of Buildings 2 and 3

To gain a further understanding of the main surviving elements of Buildings 2 and 3, a series of enhanced 3-dimensional surface relief visualisations of predicted wall elements were generated. The peristyle recorded within the survey as a major element of Building 2 appears to be square with a possible central, ornamental feature, in accordance to the majority of Roman examples. The remains of a possible portico appear to be visible along the northwest boundary of the peristyle. Figure 7.16 shows a 3-dimensional representation of wall features along the northwestern edge of the peristyle (see also Fig. 7.7). The range of buildings leading off the portico is too indistinct to be defined easily. Some of the principal walls can be seen (as indicated) although the generally deep burial depth (*c*. 0.7+ m) suggests that this portion of the building may have been subject to later quarrying. The possible line of the northwest portico is indicated, and measures *c*. 1.5 m in width. The line of the back wall of the portico is also reasonably clear. The low stylobate wall supporting the colonnade is unlikely to be well defined within the processed data, being of only one or two courses in height. The wide irregular section labelled (1) in Figure 7.16 may therefore represent structural collapse.

The main entranceway into the complex would have been of great importance. Traditionally this would follow the axial alignment of the main buildings, allowing access to the peristyle opposite the *triclinium* via a short corridor. An entranceway would therefore be expected along the southwestern edge of the complex, which has been shown to have been bounded by a channel, likely to have been navigable by boat. This suggests that a potentially grandiose water-front entrance may have existed, accessed via the channel. Figure 7.17 shows a 3-dimensional representation of predicted wall elements along the southwestern edge of the peristyle. Unfortunately, the surviving walls within the southeast range of buildings are badly defined, with no major structural elements surviving to indicate the scale of what might have been a substantial entranceway. The proximity to the channel edge may have led to the preferential quarrying of this area, facilitated by the easy removal of stone to other parts of the city by boat. The reconstruction indicates the possible remains of an entrance corridor or *fauces*, leading directly into the peristyle (see also Fig. 7.7). The alignment of irregular wall elements forming the northwestern wall of the corridor are fairly convincing, with several possible doorways giving access to adjoining rooms. The east wall is less well defined,

although there are some quite large structural elements surviving along this section. In support of this hypothesis, the *fauces* entranceway lines up with the circular feature in the centre of the peristyle, as well as the central axis of the *triclinium*.

One of the most interesting structures recorded within the survey is the large apsidal hall or *triclinium* opening onto the northeast side of the peristyle. A 3-dimensional representation of predicted wall elements from this building is shown in Figure 7.18. The general plan of the structure can clearly be seen and is symmetrical, measuring 17.7 × 7.6 m, with what is thought to be an apse of *c*. 6.6 m in diameter forming the northeastern wall. These dimensions are similar to those recorded from principal reception rooms of a number of Roman *domus*, which usually measure *c*. 18 × 10 metres.[35] Vitruvius gives instructions for the ideal proportions of the *triclinium*, the length of which should be twice the width.[36] The apse itself may well have been vaulted, since the thickness of the wall here seems generally increased. There is tentative evidence of external buttress supports along the back, labelled (1) in Figure 7.18. The building was flanked by two smaller side rooms (retiring rooms) or *cubiculi* and it appears from the reconstruction that these may have been accessed from the main hall (Fig. 7.18). Often these side rooms formed a transverse antechamber or a complex cluster of small apsidal constructions.[37] The front wall of the structure, running from the corner labelled (2) in Figure 7.18 appears to be deeper that the other walls, either surviving less well, or more likely forming the threshold or foundation for a large entranceway.

Conclusion

The geophysical survey over the main area of settlement on the Vrina Plain has established with certainty the presence and the extent of the urban development of Butrint during the Roman imperial period, and has mapped in some detail the layout of surviving building structures relating to the Roman settlement. The results have been backed up not just by the test trenches detailed here, but have been integral to the large-scale archaeological excavations undertaken on the plain.[38] The main topographical elements of the settlement appear to respect a grid plan based upon 1 *actus* divisions, indicating the formal layout of the colonial buildings. It is worth noting the two short stretches of roads found during excavation, which would seem to respect proposed the grid plan.[39] However, the most coherent set of buildings recorded were interpreted as a Roman domestic complex, located along the edge of the channel. A definite clustering of the shallower, later buildings around the area containing several extant remains was observed. The enhanced interpretation of the individual building elements obtained from further processing the geophysical results has equally shown how the more deeply buried remains are more uniform and cover a wider area. The predicted burial depths of surviving wall elements hence suggest that these should be interpreted as belonging to the earlier planned phases of settlement. Much of this phase is, however, likely to have been extensively quarried.

The location of the settlement upon the Vrina Plain south of the established urban centre at Butrint is likely to have taken advantage of the solid, well-drained area overlying earlier gravel formations, as shown from the borehole evidence. The settlement further appears to have been bounded along its southwest margin by a small channel and to the northwest by a larger flow of water draining from Lake Butrint and Lake Bufi. Indeed, the geoarchaeological context also suggest that the location of the Roman dwellings upon well-drained, possibly elevated, ground may have been a response to increased risk from flooding or a rise in sea-level.

Notes

1 E.g. Bates and Bates 2000. See also Hounslow and Chepstow Lusty 2004.
2 See Chroston and Hounslow 2004; Hounslow and Chroston 2002.
3 See Bailey 1992; MacLeod and Vita-Finzi 1982; Runnels and van Andel 1993. On the environment of Butrint, see also Lane *et al*. 2004.
4 See Horden and Purcell 2000: chapt. 8.
5 See Bull and Knuepfar 1987.
6 E.g. Ciavola *et al*. 1995; Hounslow and Chepstow Lusty 2004; Macklin, Lewin and Woodward 1995.
7 Butzer 1980: 138.
8 See Reid and Frostrick 1994: 139–42; Bintliff 1998: 62–65.
9 Giorgi, J. 2002.
10 Hounslow and Chepstow-Lusty 2002: 1335.
11 See Hounslow and Chepstow-Lusty 2002: 1337.
12 See Chroston and Hounslow 2004; Hounslow and Chroston 2002.
13 See Bescoby 2003.
14 Gaffney *et al*. 2000; Keay *et al.* 2000.
15 Chroston and Hounslow 2004; Hounslow and Chroston 2002: 232.
16 The large-scale construction of churches and basilicas in late antiquity is likely to have required the extensive quarrying of abandoned structures, potentially further distorting the survey results. The Great Basilica and contemporary Baptistery constructed at Butrint during the later 5th and 6th centuries relied heavily on the re-use of building materials (Bowden and Mitchell 2004; Hodges *et al*. 2000: 207).
17 Adam 1994: chapt.1.
18 See Dilke 1971: 84; Romano 2000: 89; Romano 2003: 285.
19 See Rizakis 1997.
20 See Dilke 1971: chapt. 6. At Nicopolis the peninsula south of the town was organized into centuries of 20 by 40 *actus* (Alcock 1993: 139), whereas at Phoenicê a potential land division comprising of 20 by 10 actus centuries has been identified from topographical maps (Giorgi, E. 2002; Giorgi, E. 2003).

21 Çondi 1988: 246–7.
22 For the Monument, see the contribution by Ricciardi in this volume.
23 See Crowson and Gilkes in this volume for a discussion of the monuments conforming to the different alignments. Different grid systems have been detected also at Corinth and in the Rhône valley (Dilke 1971: 159–77; Romano 2003).
24 Between the 1st and 5th centuries AD, many profound social changes had taken place, leading to marked changes in the overall form of Roman towns (Ellis 1994).
25 See Crowson and Gilkes in the present volume for details of the excavation results.
26 Hodges *et al.* 1997: 213.
27 See also Crowson and Gilkes in this volume.
28 Bescoby, Cawley and Chroston 2003.
29 See Brown 1997: chapt. 8.
30 Brown 1997: chapt. 8.
31 S. Martin, personal communication.
32 See Pirazzoli. 1996: chapt. 5.
33 See Pirazzoli, Laborel and Stiros1996.
34 Libanius, writing in the 4th century, describes the cities of Greece as destroyed by an earthquake during the reign of Julian the Apostate (361–363 AD), though this date may be based upon Christian propaganda. The devastation of Epirus by a "sea wave" during the reign of Gratian (367–383 AD) is referred to by Cedrenus, a 12th-century Byzantine historian; cf. Guidoboni, 1994: 522–29; see also Kelly 2004.
35 See Dunbabin 1996.
36 Vitruvius *De Architectura* 6.3.8.
37 Hostetter *et al.* 1994: 133.
38 For the details of these, see the contribution by Crowson and Gilkes in the present volume.
39 See Crowson and Gilkes in the present volume.

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8 The Archaeology of the Vrina Plain: An Assessment

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with contributions by Edward Bispham, Dhimitër Çondi and Inge Lyse Hansen

Introduction

> Après une demi-heure de chemin, on passé à Zara, village qui servait autrefois de limite entre le territoire ottoman, et les possessions de Venise sur le continent. On marche aussitòt dans la terre classique de la poésie, on traverse la rivière de Zarapoulo qui coule à l'ouest, on commence à trouver des éboulements de ruines, les piles d'une porte don't on ne devine plus l'usage, puis un vaste marais, et au bout de trios quarts de lieue, on arrive à la nouvelle fortresse de Buthrinto, située au confluent de la Saronia et du Simos. F.C.H.L. Pouqueville (1827)[1]

The flat alluvial Vrina Plain lies opposite Butrint on the south side of the Vivari Channel that links Lake Butrint to the Ionian Sea (Fig. 8.1).[2] The Vrina Plain today bears limited resemblance to the landscape in early modern and indeed, in all likelihood, Roman times. The earliest detailed map, a 1718 Venetian cadastral map, records it as an area of low hills with scrub. Beyond it, towards Kalivo, lay *paludo*, marshland. The Smyth 1825 survey depicts the same topography, as does the Admiralty chart of 1865 where the area is described as the Tchiflik Plain.[3] Mansell's hydrographic survey of the same period, though, does note tall reeds and swamp in the area where part of the Roman town has been found (Fig. 8.2).[4] These reeds cannot be seen in Edward Lear's sketches of Butrint made in 1857. He shows the area from two angles: the Korafi Hills, and looking from Mount Sotirës down over Butrint to the Vrina Plain.[5] In both cases he depicts the land as rather featureless with low hills. The area was essentially unaltered in the 1920s when Luigi Ugolini began his excavations at Butrint. Ugolini found the plain densely wooded and marshy in parts, and although he noted the presence of a number of extant Roman ruins, no attempt was made to clear or record them in detail.[6] It is possible that he did not consider the area as being sufficiently likely to contain significant remains.[7] The Plain, along with the marshes between the Triangular Castle and Butrint Bay, was where Gerald Durrell describes hunting in *My Family and Other Animals*.[8] This topography is also recorded by the Royal Air Force photographs taken in November 1943.[9]

The low hills, knolls and broken clumps of scrub have now disappeared as, for the most part, has the fringe of reeds. The plain was created in the later 1960s and early 1970s as part of a reclamation project focussed upon Lake Butrint. The socialist government, as early as the 1950s, had drained and reclaimed the area of Lake Maliq, near Korça in south-east Albania. In the 1960s, assisted by Chinese engineers who were present in Albania as part of a bilateral alliance, the river Bistrice that fed into the north end of Lake Butrint was diverted out through a channel to the Ionian Sea. The Pavllas river was diverted along the line of the Korafi Hills debouching directly into Butrint Bay rather than through the maze of channels leading to the Vivari Channel close to the Triangular Castle. Following these works, the areas immediately north of Lake Butrint and to its south (i.e. the Vrina Plain) were systematically levelled with graders and drained by a series of deep linear channels linked to pumping stations in the two areas. The pumping station serving the Vrina Plain lies just west of the Triangular Castle. Both areas were then worked by collective farms, with maize being the main crop cultivated. Subsequent to the draining of the plain for agriculture, Albanian archaeologists made a number of investigations. These were restricted to examination of standing remains, surface survey, small-scale excavation trenches and the recording of finds made during further land improvement.[10] Similar work was also undertaken by the 1989–94 Albanian–Greek project led by Dr Katerina Hadzis, but there was no recognition of the scale, significance or potential of the remains sealed beneath the thick, alluvial silts of the plain.

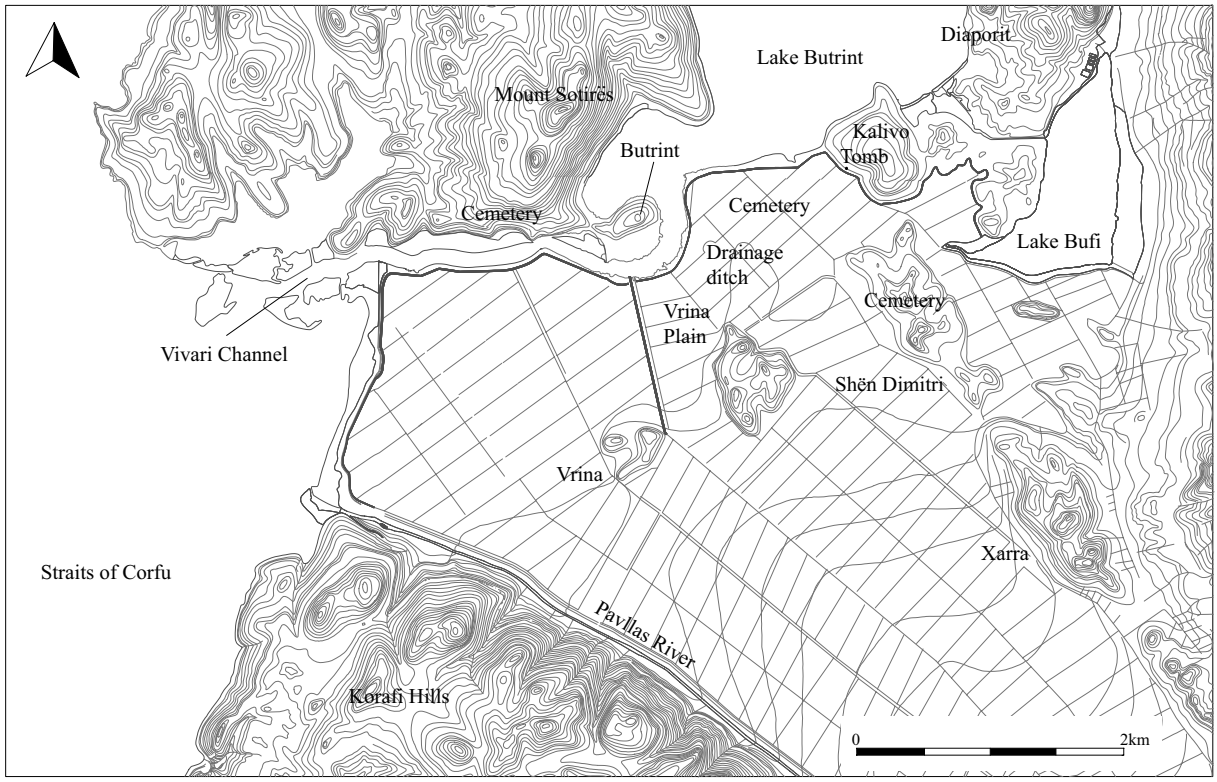


Fig. 8.1 Location of sites at Butrint and the Vrina Plain (BF)

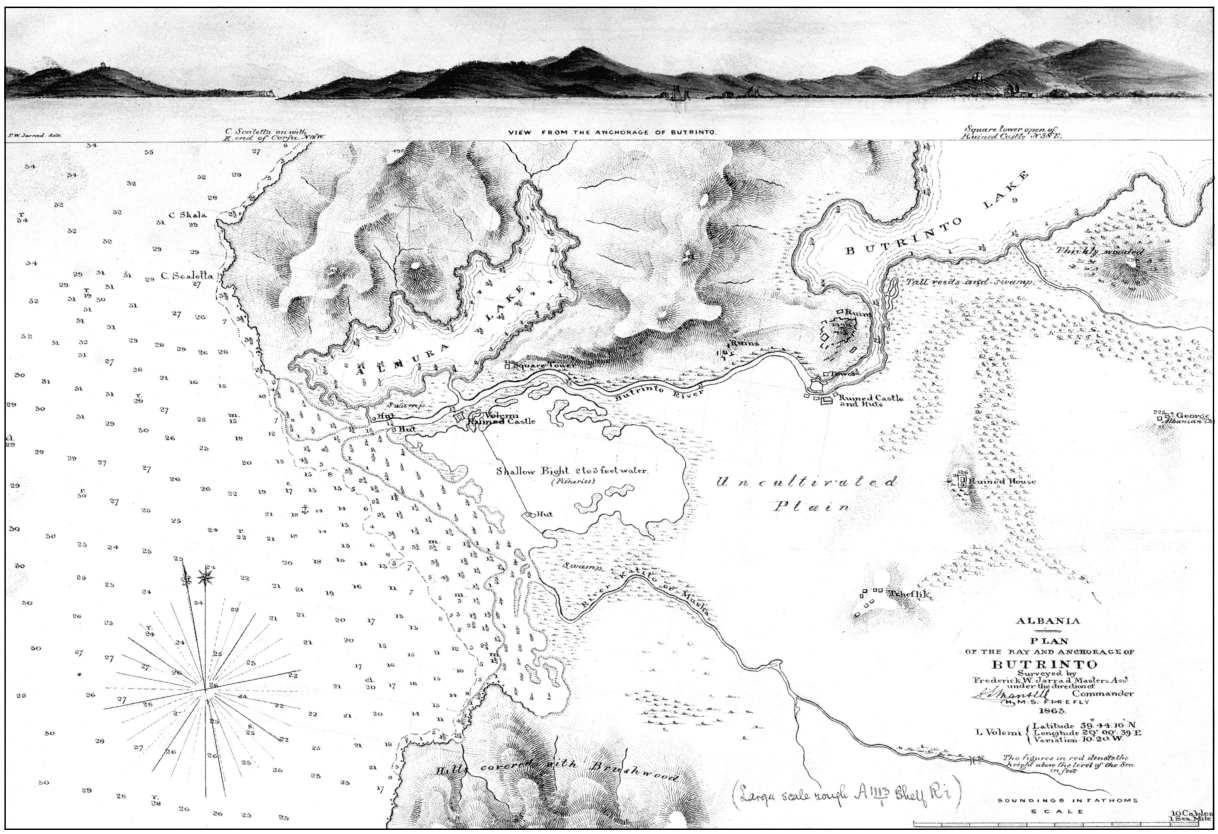


Fig. 8.2 Plan of the Bay and anchorage of Butrint, 1863 (United Kingdom Hydrographic Data Centre)

During 1995–96 the Butrint Foundation conducted an intensive field survey on the south side of the Vivari Channel, covering the area between the Korafi Hills in the west, Xarra in the south and Kalivo in the east.[11] Samples of surface material were retained and local people were questioned about the landscape and its settlement history to help place the city of Butrint in its contemporary hinterland. In summary, the survey identified extensive remains of destroyed masonry structures and associated ceramics in fields, dyke-sides and excavations. In order to better understand and interpret the surface remains the Institute of Geophysical and Geochemical Studies of Tirana carried out a geophysical survey of part of the area in April 1995. This was designed to elucidate sub-surface structures, possible road lines and buried environmental features such as previous coastlines and waterfronts. The results, however, were unimpressive.[12] Between 1998 and 2002 new surveys were made for the Butrint Foundation by the School of Environmental Science from the University of East Anglia and GSB Prospection Ltd. The interpretations from these surveys were tested by trial excavation.[13] These showed that the area thought by the Albanian Institute of Archaeology to be a Roman villa was actually a suburb of Roman Butrint, quite possibly the colony created by Julius Caesar in 44 BC and re-established by Augustus after his victory at Actium in 31BC. In order to understand the extent and character of the remains revealed by the geophysical survey, a major archaeological assessment of the area was undertaken in 2002–4.[14] This chapter discusses the main results of the assessment.

The assessment of the archaeology of the northern part of the Roman suburb on the Vrina Plain was designed to characterise the topography of the colonial community, its structural components, environmental setting and its reoccupation through time. The excavations comprised two elements. First, approximately 210 m of a broad channel, (the 'Vrina Plain drainage ditch' – VPDD) cut by machines during 1974, was cleaned manually at intervals and recorded. Subsequently, small areas were expanded at certain locations along the ditch, either to gain a better understanding of the context of significant, partially exposed structures, or to test areas of both positive and negative geophysical response. Second, a trench 67 m long was cut at right angles to the drainage ditch to encompass a group of standing Roman ruins and buried remains identified via geophysical survey (Fig. 8.3).[15]

Summary of the principal phases

The assessment excavations on the Vrina Plain have elucidated an archaeological sequence as impressive and important as any recovered elsewhere in Butrint. Clearance along the drainage ditch and complementary excavation around the standing structures revealed fragments of numerous buildings that provide an illuminating account of the urban history of the area. The combined work suggests a planned landscape containing public buildings, town houses and tombs that was redeveloped in the late Roman period and adapted once more during the Middle Ages. It is now clear that Roman Butrint, at least for a time, was a city of two parts.

Stratigraphic excavation and detailed interpretation of the archaeological sequences was the cornerstone of the assessment. Well stratified, closely datable groups of ceramics were used to date individual contexts. The combination of stratification and ceramic dating has been used to associate events across spatially disparate parts of the site and achieve a chronology for the development of the Vrina Plain settlement. It needs to be made clear, though, that the high water table limited the excavations making it difficult to ascertain whether there had been Hellenistic and early Roman occupation in this area.

Late 1st–early 2nd century AD

Late 1st-century BC and early 1st-century AD structures and ceramics – that might lend immediate support to the presence of a colonial settlement – are notable only by their general absence. However, by the end of the 1st century AD the organisation of buildings on the plain had clearly taken shape, and the new town appears to have been structured upon a regular grid of roads (Fig. 8.4).[16] The principal road in the grid ran north-south along the east side of the urban area, parallel to a cardinal axis identified by Bescoby (see this volume) – almost certainly a surveying line (and in part perhaps a road) between Çuka e Aitoit and Mount Sotirës. Traces of a possible road were found immediately northwest of the Monuments.[17] Too little survives to indicate whether this tract ran east-west along the shoreline or, indeed, may have continued northwards in the direction of the proposed new bridge that almost certainly also carried the aqueduct into the city.[18] Since the grid of roads appears to follow the line of the aqueduct, it is likely that this was one of the earliest monuments to be planned for the city – and one of the earliest large-scale structures to be constructed on the plain. The early settlement was situated on a low knoll to the southwest of the aqueduct; to the north lay the waterfront of the Vivari Channel, while on the west side the town was demarcated by a small river. The first of the two freestanding monumental structures was built on the east towards the water-front (Monument 2, Fig. 8.15), and close by, to one side of an area identified as unoccupied in the geophysical survey, lay a temple on a substantial podium (Fig. 8.5). The settlement clearly developed rapidly and, in the later part of the 1st century, structures at the heart of the town were replaced to construct a large public bath-house and cistern (Bath-house 1, Fig. 8.23). To the east of the aqueduct, tombs dated to the end of the 1st or early part of the 2nd century AD show that this area functioned as a cemetery (cf. Fig. 8.3). The tombs cluster along the water-front suggesting that the coastal fringe of the plain functioned as an important thoroughfare.

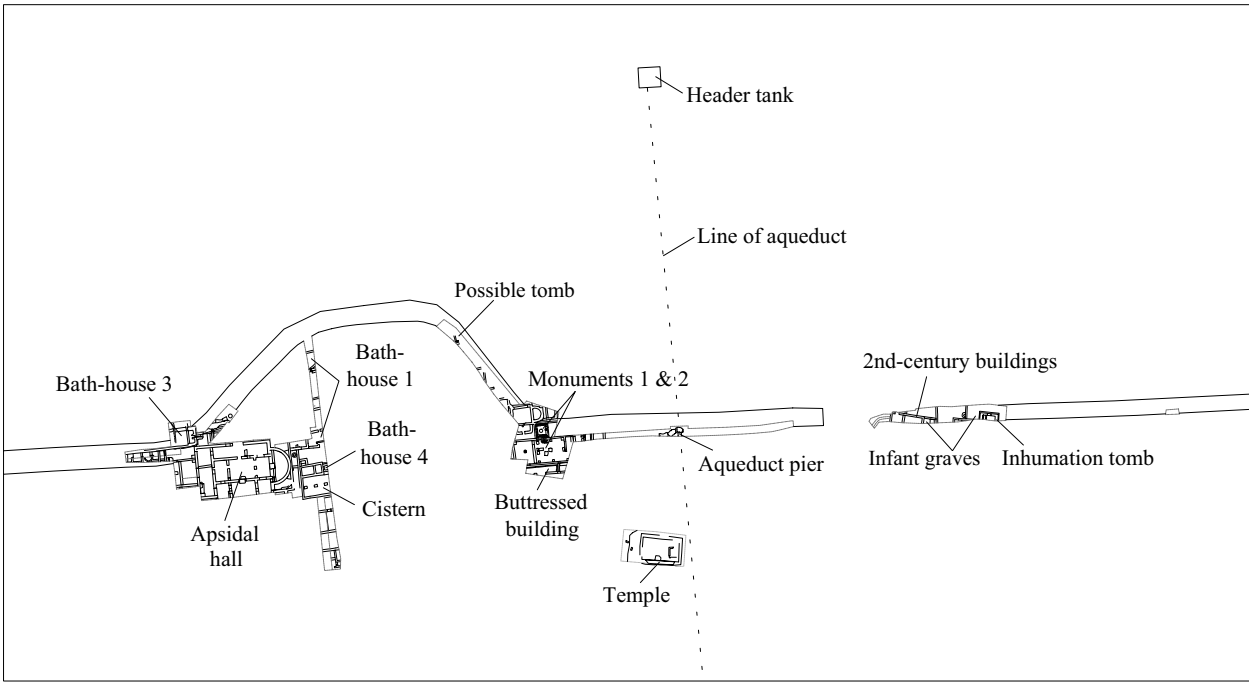


Fig. 8.3 Plan and location of trenches on the Vrina Plain (BF)

2nd century AD

During the 2nd century AD the settlement on the Vrina Plain experienced its floruit. Thick occupation deposits accumulated in and around the palimpsest of structures that occupied the knoll. The second of the freestanding monuments (Monument 1, Fig. 8.15) was erected, and new buildings spread out both to its east and west. New houses and bath-houses were constructed and many structural alterations are evident. At least one further urban block was developed to the east of the aqueduct, intruding into the boundary of the cemetery, and conceivably a small third urban nucleus existed beside the channel towards the hill of Kalivo. In short, a large part of Roman period Butrint now occupied the former marsh on the south side of the Vivari Channel with an ensemble of public, private and ritual buildings.

Late 2nd–early 3rd century AD

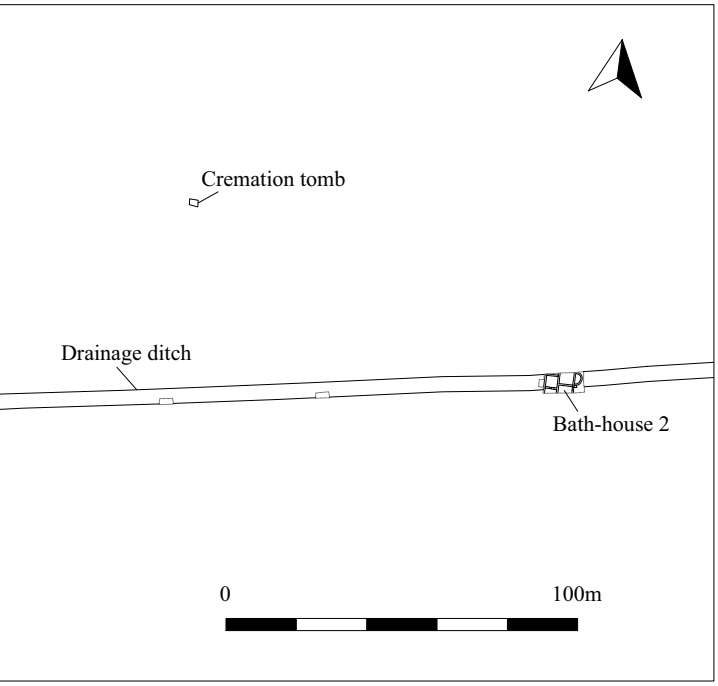
This expansion, however, was not to last: around the turn of the 3rd century the town fell into decline. A similar picture has emerged at the nearby lake-side villa at Diaporit; the luxury residence was abandoned, robbed of its marble and largely demolished by the early 3rd century.[19] The degeneration on the Vrina Plain during this period was particularly evident in the area to the east of the aqueduct; residential, storage and bath-buildings were collapsing or being torn down, rubbish and rubble was accumulating in the open spaces and re-usable masonry was robbed. Only few buildings, it seems, persisted in use or were re-inhabited. In the older area west of the aqueduct there was much disintegration but also some continuity of occupation, and this area was ultimately to recover. Roads were covered with demolition debris and destroyed, wall tops were sealed with rubble. The earliest of the honorific monuments (Monument 2) was obliterated by this time, and the area it occupied extensively burnt. By the earlier part of the 3rd century even the later monument (Monument 1, cf. Fig. 8.12) had been dismantled and the area levelled. Elsewhere, the large 1st-century bath-building (Bath-house 1) was plundered for its marble.

Late 3rd–4th centuries AD

The ceramic evidence, or rather the lack of it, suggests that during the later part of the 3rd century, much of the town lay either abandoned or was only sparsely inhabited. This resembles the situation at Diaporit, where there is no evidence of activity between the mid-3rd to late 5th century.[20] During the 4th century the character of life on the plain altered radically once again. Tombs were smashed and robbed, and the materials used to surface crude floors in derelict building shells. Parts rather than the whole of buildings were reoccupied. Some of the Bath-house 1 walls that remained standing finally collapsed. Re-occupation of the spaces was sporadic and brief. By the end of the century even some pieces of the aqueduct had collapsed.

Fifth century AD and later

As in Butrint itself, however, construction and urban life



did not cease after 400 AD; if anything it experienced a revival. A new, though short-lived, bath-building (Bath-house 4, Fig. 8.27), was built during the 5th century from the cleared ruins of the former public baths (Bath-house 1). Elsewhere, rough-built masonry and timber structures were thrown up. Occupation attested by coins of Justinian continued into the 6th century. Further work by the Butrint Foundation during 2004 and 2005 has significantly extended and expanded upon the archaeological sequence. It is now clear, for example, that the later 5th-century revival evident in the area to the west of the line of the aqueduct was initiated by the construction of a palaeochristian basilica on the ruins of the former Apsidal hall, possibly forming part of a large house or guild building (cf. Fig. 8.3). The reinvigorated settlement endured well into the 6th century and into the Middle Ages, as evidenced by the presence of High Byzantine coins and 13th-century pottery found on the Vrina Plain.

Planned settlement

Construction of the Butrint aqueduct has often been associated with the formation of the Roman colony.[21] Two Butrint issue *Aes* coins depict three arcades of an aqueduct or bridge: one of Augustus, the other Neronian.[22] However, these are not sufficient evidence to date the construction of the aqueduct. The line of the aqueduct can be traced southeastwards from Butrint for at least 7 km to the foot of the hill occupied by the modern village of Xarra.[23] It may have been fed by a spring at this point, but quite conceivably skirted Xarra and drew on a water source (possibly the River Pavllas) further to the south. At any rate, it must have appeared as a vast procession of arches across the plain to preserve the level of the water and serve the needs of Butrint's new bath-houses, fountains and drains (cf. Fig 11.16).[24] Although no side branches from the principal line of the aqueduct have been found, it is likely that it also provided for the suburb on the plain. A large tank close to the Vivari Channel is more likely a header tank than a cistern. The aqueduct provided for a natural division of the layout of the colonial suburb. Beyond an apparently empty space of *c.* 20 m, the core of the settlement was created on higher ground to its west (although, see also Fig. 8.4 and the discussion of the Temple and later grid below). An area for burials was set aside to its east beyond another (largely) empty space *c.* 50 m wide. The geophysical survey has highlighted several large concentrations of buried structures aligned northwest to southeast across the northern part of the Vrina Plain through detailed interpretation of linear magnetic anomalies.[25] The results suggest the existence of a gridded system of streets with building plots or *insulae* in this quarter of the town (cf. Figs 7.7 and 8.4). This proposed planned organisation of the suburb finds convincing concordance with features on the ground. As illustrated in Figure 8.4 the structures west of the aqueduct all seem to follow the same alignment (alignment 1). The exception to this rule is the Temple, which appears to be positioned on an alignment that is predominantly found in the structures to the east of the aqueduct (alignment 2).

The assessment brought to light two roads or alleyways around the south end of the standing remains of Bath-house 1 situated on alignment 1 (Fig. 8.4). A north–south alley was defined by the space between Bath-house 1 and the apse of the Apsidal hall to the west, while another east–west road delimited the southern side of the Bath-house 1 complex. The road was 4.30 m wide and the alley measured 2 m across. Neither alley was paved, but features, such as possible wheel ruts and openings for doorways in the buildings facing onto them, suggest that these were indeed thoroughfares. Traces of a third road – a metalled surface – were recorded in both sections on the eastern side of the loop of the drainage ditch. The alignment is difficult to establish, but it may have been an east–west road running on the channelside of the Monuments. The road comprised a sequence of rammed, levelled and graded gravel deposits, including some crushed tile or other ceramic fragments. A large stone recorded on the northern edge of the surface, and which follows the same alignment as the surrounding structures, may represent a kerbstone. Depressions in the top of the road could be interpreted as wheel ruts; the measurements would then indicate a potential axle width of up to 2.60 m for carts in use during the 1st or 2nd century. Most compellingly, if the road indeed ran in an east-west direction, it is aligned with, and directly on the line of an *actus* grid proposed for the colonial period.[26]

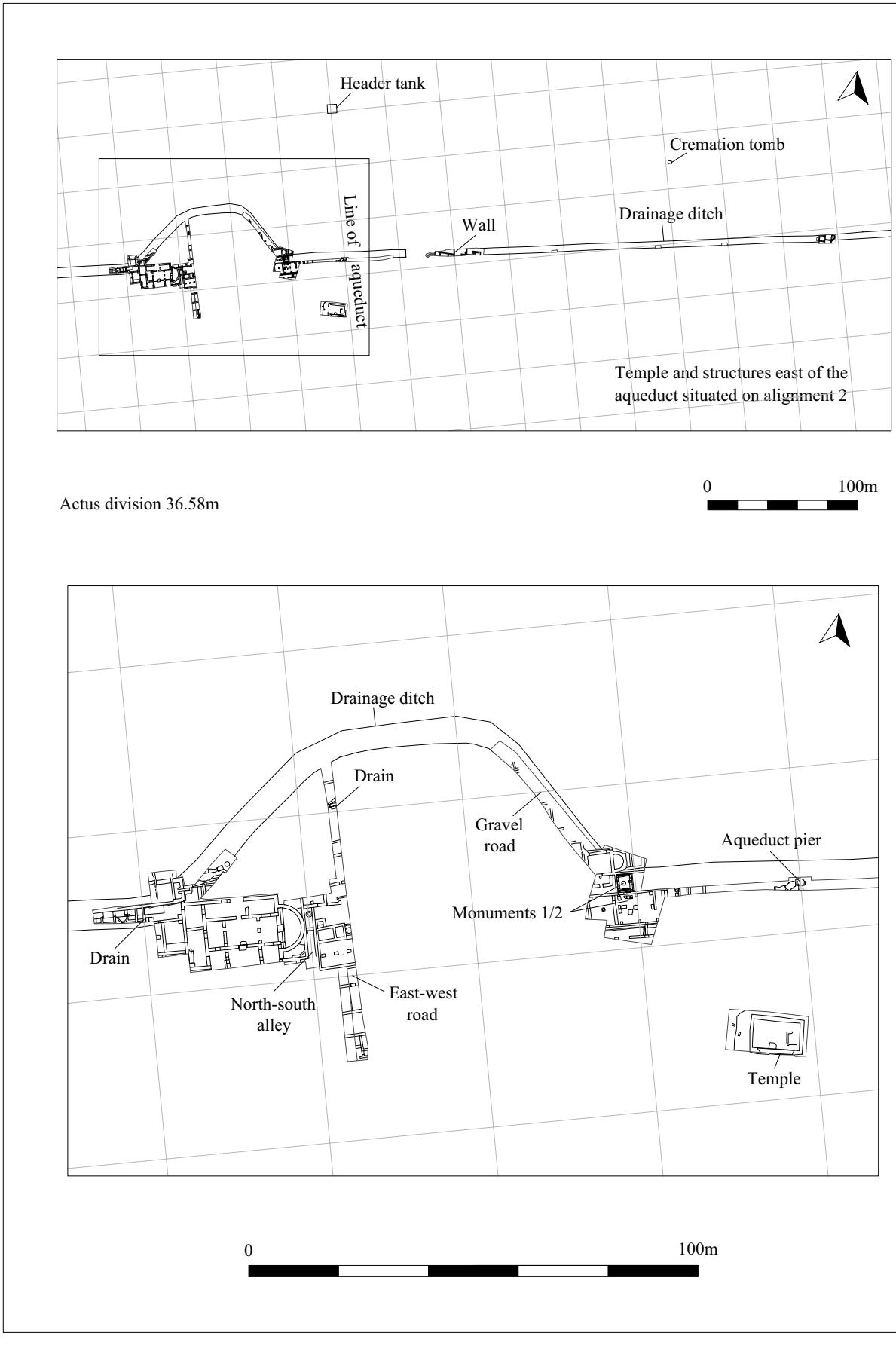


Fig. 8.4 The excavated structures and the actus *grid of alignment 1 (BF)*

Building on the hypothesis of likely land division on the Vrina Plain described in Chapter 7, attempts were made in the field to establish more accurately the probable positions of street lines in the vicinity of principal buildings and monuments. This was achieved by developing potential grid plans on the basis of aligned measurements taken between exposed archaeological features. The starting point for these measurements was the known line of the aqueduct, which is likely to have been positioned on or used as a cardinal survey transect by the original Roman surveyors.[27] At any rate, no structural evidence of pre-Roman settlement features that may have influenced the layout of a colonial plan has been discovered to date. The basic unit of land division was the *actus*, normally a square of 35.80 m (120 Roman feet) from the Augustan period.[28] City blocks – *insulae* – on the Vrina Plain may well correspond to one rural *actus* width as they did at Corinth.[29] *Actii* were organised into larger centuries, usually consisting of a unit 20 *actii* square, though this could vary, such as the Caesarian centuries at colonial Corinth, which measure 32 × 15 *actii*.[30] The distance from the line of the aqueduct to the first known north–south thoroughfare, the alleyway between Bath-house 1 and the Apsidal hall, is 109.74 m. A block of 3 Augustan *actii* would occupy 107.40 m. Though not conclusive, the reasonably close correlation is compelling and points towards the existence of a gridded street system, and hence a regularly planned settlement. The aqueduct may have formed the basis for the land survey, but the difference in scale and condition of the streets around Bath-house 1 suggest that the east–west roads (*decumani*) were the principal routes with the north–south streets (*cardines*) serving as comparatively minor thoroughfares. This is hinted at also by the location of the major tombs and mausolea, which are placed in a broad east–west band following the lake-side.

Attempting to test the validity of the hypothetical *actus* grid based on the measurements described above, it was extended across the Vrina Plain and was found to coincide with archaeological features at each of the points examined in the assessment of the drainage ditch (Fig. 8.4). To both the west and north of Bath-house 1 there are drains orientated in line with the proposed grid. The two monuments (Monuments 1 and 2) east of this bath-house are positioned with their east faces adjacent and parallel to a north–south grid line, and the space immediately east of the later Monument 1 remained open and accessible. The portico of the Buttressed building immediately south of the monuments would front the same east–west road discovered south of Bath-house 1. Elsewhere, the proposed grid is corroborated by the intersection of the aqueduct header tank with the corners of four *actii* (Fig. 8.4). East of the aqueduct it is apparent that the alignment of the *actus* shifted: a single early and well-constructed wall is positioned on a north–south line of the proposed *actus* grid, on an alignment that is at variance with all other (later) structures around it. It is suggested that a street may have run along its east side and that it served as a property division or boundary marker; indeed, it may originally have served to delimit the *limes* of the residential or commercial development to its west.

Aside from this wall, all of the remaining structures excavated east of the aqueduct are constructed following a plan that is oriented more towards true north, corresponding with alignment 2. Four hundred and fifty metres to the east of the main settlement concentration, the outlying villa and Bath-house 2 conform to the alignment 2 grid, as do the walls exposed in the original geophysical Test Trench 1.[31] The location of the standing cremation tomb may also be situated on line with the altered grid (Figs 8.4, 8.29). The earliest (stylistically) dated structure within the Vrina Plain suburb that is constructed on this second alignment is the Temple (Figs 8.4, 8.5). Of the features identified in the area west of the aqueduct, it alone is situated on this different alignment. The reasons for this are not yet clear, nor why subsequent land surveying seems to follow its lead. It is possible that only a brief period of time elapsed between the laying out of the two alternative grids, though it should be noted that the structures examined east of the aqueduct only date from the 2nd century at the earliest; a period corresponding with the zenith of the Roman settlement.

It is not unusual to discover separate phases of centuriation, in fact it should perhaps be expected. Indeed, between Orange and Avignon in the Rhône valley, the remains of eight different centuriation systems have been identified around the Roman colony *colonia Iulia firma Secundanorum*.[32] In the Rhône the separate surveys are thought to reflect changes in land tenure and the need to compile records for taxation purposes. The documentation for, and physical remains of, such surveys do not exist for Butrint, however, and it is clear neither why nor when the axis of the grid plan was shifted. Moreover, it is not easy to imagine what served as the focus for the realignment in the way that the aqueduct did for the presumed initial layout. The point in time when the first land divisions were laid out, and the street pattern established, is presently uncertain. It may be significant that the earliest excavated structures seem to date to the mid to late 1st century AD, and that the coin sequence from the Vrina Plain begins only in the later 1st century. It is still feasible, however, that the planned layout of the settlement formed part of the colonial initiative of the emperor Augustus. Certainly, at Nicopolis the regularly planned city did not reach its full development until a century or so following its Augustan foundation.[33] At Butrint, we may be observing a gradual infilling of a planned landscape, a continuous occupation of the most preferable areas, and a piecemeal expansion into less desirable and distant locations. Throughout this development, transport and access over water was as least as important as that over land.

However, it is presently suspected that the roads and

grid did not endure much longer than the early 3rd century, and that changes to the layout of buildings and their location, in respect to both *actus* grids, began at a relatively early date. At most of the points examined in the drainage ditch, actual road surfaces cannot be identified, and all were covered with demolition debris before or during the 3rd century AD. For example, the area around Monuments 1 and 2 was built over and filled in during the late 2nd or early 3rd century; only a short period of time after the later monument was erected. The metalled road to the northwest of Monument 1 probably went out of use even earlier, being buried under rubble deposits in the 2nd century AD. For the most part the roads in the settlement were possibly little more than tracks and lanes of beaten earth rather than paved or metalled streets. During the 3rd century the system of streets and alleys fell into general disrepair. Some elements, though, still functioned. For example, a gravelled yard or thoroughfare was made in the area of the eastern loop of the drainage ditch sometime during the early 3rd century. Occupation around the roads persisted, or was revived in isolated places, at intervals during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries. Significantly, an illegible single small late antique *nummus* was recovered from the final surface of the east–west road at the south end of Bath-house 1.

At Butrint, work is presently on-going to determine the extent to which the centuriation of the Vrina Plain was continued southwards along the Pavllas valley.[34] Based on digital aerial mapping, the results of the geophysical surveys and excavations, and fresh field observations, computer models are being developed by the Butrint Foundation to measure and predict the location of Roman land divisions fossilised in the modern landscape.

The sacred area – the Temple and the Monuments

The Temple

A significant feature on the Vrina Plain is the building *c.* 20 m to the southeast of Monument 1 and immediately west of the aqueduct (Figs 8.5 and 8.6). This rectangular building, approximately 9.50 × 8.50 m orientated east–west, stands in a commanding position and appears to be raised above the surrounding elements of the suburb. It was excavated in the 1980s by the Albanian Institute of Archaeology, and interpreted as a bath-house or a cistern on basis of its proximity to the aqueduct.[35] However, considering its internal arrangements, this seems unlikely. Thus, the entire structure was cleaned as part of

Fig. 8.5 The Temple on the Vrina Plain seen from the west (BF)

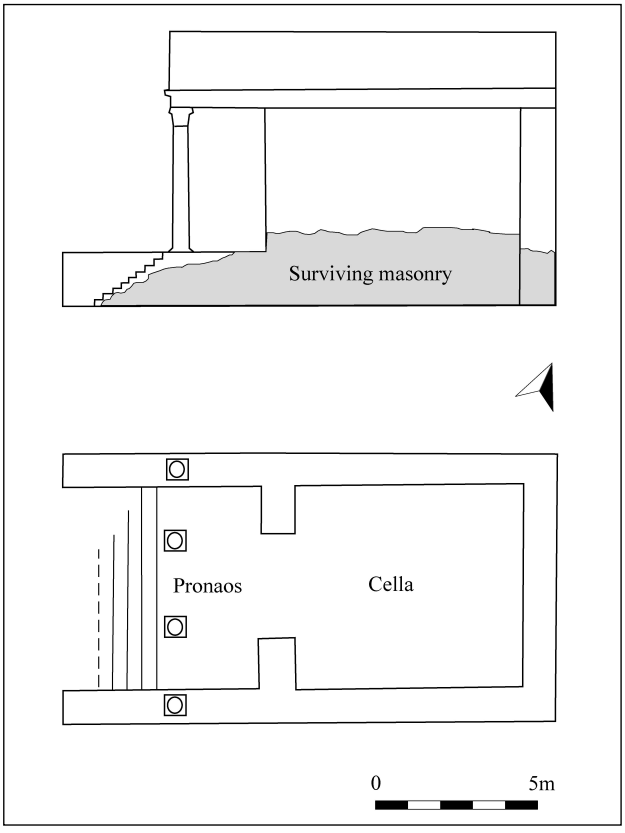


Fig. 8.6 The Temple, proposed reconstruction of plan and elevation (BF)

the assessment excavations, and additional excavation was undertaken on the western side. The building was stylistically dated by its masonry to the early imperial period with a secondary late Roman phase dated by 4th-century coins, and represented by a level of silty clay that had been used as the bedding for a rough floor of broken tiles.

Most of the walls had been extensively demolished and robbed away, but the southern wall survived up to 1.30 m in height. The robbing had been especially thorough along the western, northern and eastern walls where the robbers had dug deeply into the *cocciopesto* floor. Clearly the objective had been to recover the thick tiles of the lower walls and the stone slabs of the plinth along with their clamps; many of the stones had been partly undermined to aid their removal. The outer face of the southern wall had been similarly assailed: crowbar marks were visible in the wall mortar and all the tile facing had been removed; though, here the interior brickwork had been left *in situ*.

The southern wall was massively constructed of tile masonry with a mortar core. The tiles were scored, some cut into triangular form for use in the wall, whereas the lower tile courses were formed of thick *bipedalis* tiles founded on a plinth of limestone slabs linked with iron and lead clamps. The interior of the wall was lined with a grey veined marble veneer, fragments of which were found elsewhere in the excavations. Sockets for tile spacers and iron clamps to fix the veneer in position were found at regular intervals of *c.* 1.20 m along the wall, and the remains of the thick mortar backing also survived in part. A doorway over 3 m wide existed on the western side of the building, and a robbing cut seemed to indicate the position of a substantial threshold and door imposts. On the western side of the door the stone plinth was far wider than elsewhere, extending into a platform which survived for a width of *c.* 1.50 m. The interior of the structure was paved with a thick *cocciopesto* floor, well founded on a rubble platform. On this surface were at least 5 rectangular structures, none larger than 3 × 1.5m, and built of mortared tile, spaced irregularly around the walls at the eastern end of the structure. Although none of these survived more than 0.25m high, three of them bore signs of having contained boxes or chests: clear marks remained on the *cocciopesto* floor beneath them as though heavy objects had rested inside. The original excavations recovered a number of fragments of marble sculpture, reliefs and architectural fragments (see below).

A trench was opened along the western side of the building, extending 4 m to the west of the stone platform and along its entire width (Fig. 8.5). It quickly became apparent that the structure was founded on a podium of mortared rubble, which explains the height of the building relative to surrounding structures. To the west of the stone platform the rubble sloped gently westwards for 2.50 m, but beyond this point it descended sharply in a series of steps which could only be investigated in a small trench. Two finely-dressed limestone blocks (the largest of which measured *c.* 0.70 × 0.35 × 0.30 m) were found resting on the stepped rubble, though the bottom of the rubble foundation was not reached. It is apparent that the building is neither a bath-house nor a cistern. It might, however, be interpreted as a temple, or perhaps a temple mausoleum.[36] The overall form, roughly twice as long as it is wide, corresponds to the Vitruvian formula for the laying out of a temple; the rectangular chamber would form the *cella* with a wide door giving onto a *pronaos* paved in limestone, fronted by a set of steps.[37] The whole building lies on a podium 1.60 m high.

Many elements of this interpretation are uncertain; nevertheless, a tentative reconstruction has been attempted to show the building as a temple (Fig. 8.6). No *in situ* elements of a colonnade were found, but to judge from the surviving remains it seems likely that the temple was prostyle rather than *in antis*. The tetrastyle reconstruction is based on the dimensions of fragments of two granite column shafts, found reused in later buildings nearby, but which could originate from here. The precise form of the podium is uncertain, though clearly it was much higher than that of the temple above the theatre in Butrint, which is the only other local parallel. In general, temples in Epirus appear to follow a local tradition of relatively small structures set on low stepped plinths.[38] If the Vrina building really is raised on a more substantial podium,

Fig. 8.7 Fragment of monumental floor inscription (BF)

then it is the first example with this italic feature to be found in the region.

Finally, it is unclear whether this is the first building of this type on the site. As it stands the building lies immediately to the west of the remains of the aqueduct and on the east side of a possible north-south road. A linear feature, observed in the geophysics data, is unusual and does not immediately fit into the postulated grid organisation of the Vrina Plain settlement, and it may represent a slight eastward shift of the line of a roadway that originally ran to the east of the monuments. Further west is a rectangular space, perhaps another city plot, which may have contained buildings or even an open area. Substantial *spolia* limestone slabs, found in the narthex of the palaeochristian basilica built into the Apsidal hall to the west, include one with the remains of a monumental bronze inscription (Fig. 8.7). These slabs must originate in a major public space somewhere in the vicinity; the *temenos* of a temple is one possibility. The current temple structure follows alignment 2 which is suggested above to be a later development. However, the organisation of the surrounding spaces and structures suggests that there may have been an earlier building on this spot, possibly to be identified with a predecessor of the temple.

The marble finds from the Temple (DÇ and ILH)

An initial survey of the area around the temple was undertaken by the Albanian Archaeological Institute in 1987 as part of an assessment of distinctive features on the Vrina Plain.[39] Situated on a raised platform, the remains of the structure were covered only by a thin layer of soil, and the 1987 assessment concentrated on removal of the topsoil layers in order to establish the outline of the monument. With the cleaning process it became clear that the area contained a number of marble fragments. As well as architectural fragments, a number of sculptural pieces were recovered – mainly sarcophagus fragments with relief decoration, but also various joining fragments of a fine portrait head in the style of Marcus Aurelius. The following is a selective survey of these finds.

The sculptural material as a body lacks an overall cohesion in date or style, and only further excavation may establish their relationship to the structure. The building itself seem to have been subject to changes, with two distinct phases evident from the recent survey of the remains, and it may even be possible that the differing finds pertain to various phases and uses of the structure. The fragmentary state of the works complicate the dating of the pieces, but the vast majority can be located in the 3rd century AD; most of them probably in the later part of that century.

The amount and quality of the marble fragments recovered are noteworthy.[40] None of the pieces show signs of in-situ finishing, and the works must consequently have been imported in a finished state from the workshop of production. Many of the fragments seem to derive from Attic sarcophagi, which correspond well with the survey of sarcophagus fragments from Albania published by Guntram Koch.[41] However, at least two of the pieces found on the Vrina Plain may be related to workshops in Asia Minor. This link is apparent in the decorative details of the lid-fragment with floral motif and in the corner fragment (nos. 5 and 8), both of which find their best comparisons in works from Tyros. The importation explains the high quality of the carving, and situates Butrint – as the rest of Epirus – within a commercial network for this type of material centred on Greece and Asia Minor rather than metropolitan Rome.

As well as a preference for Attic sarcophagi the pieces found on the Vrina Plain suggest a certain popularity of the kline type, and at least two of the pieces may be linked to this class (nos. 2 and 5). The importation, quality and monumentality of the works are not the least interesting given their relatively late date. The development of the Vrina Plain as a settlement area seems to have undergone a severe reduction in this period, which – as far as can be determined on basis of such a small sample of marble fragments – is not reflected in the funerary sculpture. Rather, a considerable investment in high-quality sarcophagi seems to have been made through this period.

1. Portrait head of a bearded man (Fig. 8.8)
   Pentelic marble; approx. 45 cm high including insert. Date: last quarter 2nd century AD.
   The insert head was found in several fragments in the northeast corner of the structure, and comprises the neck, rear and left side of the face.[42] The right side of the face, from above the left eye in a diagonal line to the right of the mouth, is missing. The whereabouts of the larger piece comprising the face and neck is currently unknown. The face is relatively narrow with high cheekbones; the lids and brow of his eyes are well defined and the iris incised; nothing remains of the nose. The man is portrayed in the manner of Marcus Aurelius, in particular the emperors' third portrait type in use AD 170–80.[43] His full beard is rendered with the same large, flowing locks as the imperial style, though articulated with greater freedom and deeper drilling, and his moustache curl over his upper lip with a slight inward turn at the corners. His hair is richly curled around his forehead to the top of his ears, and rendered in shallow relief at the rear. The hair, too, is carved with a more vivacious three-dimensionality and with more free-flowing locks than the imperial image. A few marble fragments of drapery were found in this area, and it is possible that they pertain to the figure of the insert portrait.

2. Lid fragment of kline sarcophagus?
   White fine-grained marble; 28 × 17 × 10 cm, broken along two sides. Date: later 2nd century AD.
   The gently tapering, semi-circular shape of the fragment suggests that it depicts the 'cushion' placed on the kline. This is accentuated by its two broad decorative bands highlighting its curvature, as well as by the incised outline of the bands, which make them appear like straps across a soft material. The fragment is finished along its outer edge and unusually no trace remains of the kline headrest. To

Fig. 8.8 Portrait head of a bearded man (IA)

the rear, the profile of the fragment rises diagonally, in an irregular wave-like pattern, which may be the remains of the drapery of the person depicted reclining on the sarcophagus lid.

3. Relief (sarcophagus?) fragment with male leg
Pentelic marble; 30 × 8 ×12 cm. Date: late 2nd–3rd century AD.
High relief rendering of male, left leg, surviving from just above the knee to the ankle. The musculature is well articulated, with a certain patterning effect for the knee. The figure is standing, seemingly at rest. A section of the original roughed-out rear surface of the relief survives, including a slight curvature resembling an inner base section. No traces of drapery, footwear or other figures are visible and the ground appears plain.

4. Sarcophagus fragment with female figure (Fig. 8.9)
White, fine-grained marble; 18 × 24 × 5 cm. Date: early 3rd century AD.
The fragment comprises the head, right shoulder and upper torso of a female figure shown in profile; the face, right shoulder and outer edge of arm are missing.[44] She leans forward with her face turned upward and arms bent in a supplicating pose. The soft waves of her hair are combed back from her forehead, held with a band and gathered in a rolled bun at the nape of her neck. Her right shoulder is nude, and drapery-folds run diagonally from her left shoulder to below her right arm indicating that her right breast would have been bared. In front of her are remains of a rounded object, possibly a shield. Koch has suggested that she may be Deidameia, one of the daughters of the King of Skyros, on basis of her supplicating pose.[45] The

Fig. 8.9 Sarcophagus fragment with female figure (BF)

Fig. 8.10 Lid fragment of kline sarcophagus with floral motifs (BF)

scene on the sarcophagus could therefore represent Achilles on Skyros, and the shield visible in the fragment that held aloft by the hero. An interpretation of this nature would, however, reverse the standard manner of depicting Achilles with the shield on his left arm and Deidameia kneeling below.[46] Another possibility is that she is an Amazon, an interpretation supported by the motif of the bared breast. The composition may in this case originally have depicted a battle between Greeks and Amazons. Her pose may then be that of an Amazon looking up at an equestrian opponent, whose round shield is visible in front of her.[47]

5. Lid fragment of kline sarcophagus with floral motifs (Fig. 8.10)
   Pentelic marble; 27 × 22 × 9 cm, broken along three sides. Date: *c*. mid-3rd century AD.
   The fragment is a detail of the front edge of the 'mattress' of the kline, decorated with alternating panels of bands and figurative scenes.[48] The surviving piece is decorated with four plain, broad ribbons interspersed with garlands of stylized oak, acanthus and ivy leaves, as well as a partial figurative panel at the broken left-hand edge, depicting a figure holding a rudder. Throughout, the decoration is carved in a delicate low relief with much detail. Unusually, the lower edge of the fragment is embellished with bands of overlapping laurel leaves.[49] These face toward the middle part of the fragment, and hence the piece probably represents the very central part of the sarcophagus lid. The decoration is similar to sarcophagi in Rome and Beirut dated to the mid-3rd century AD.[50]
6. Relief with sleeping woman
   White marble; *c*. 75 × 59 cm. Found in several fragments; broken along two sides. Date: mid-3rd century AD?
   The work is the upper part of a relief topped by a projecting moulding. On a rocky ground, rising toward the right side of the relief, is depicted a woman in sleeping pose.[51] She lies on her side facing the viewer, supporting her head on her bent left arm. Her right arm rests across her body and the stony ground; in it she holds a small circular wreath with ribbons. She wears a chiton and mantle; her eyes are closed, and her hair is arranged in a regular pattern of large curls framing her face from the centre parting to below her ears. The style of her coiffure is difficult to date, but seems most reminiscent of 3rd century imperial styles, which may furnish a tentative date for the relief. Behind her, in low relief, are a crescent moon and three five-pointed stars, and the intention may be to associate her with Luna. If this is the case, her sleeping pose – reminiscent of depictions of Ariadne and Endymion – may be read as a conflation of symbols associated with the moon. The reconfigured symbolism, the lack of an unequivocal mythological narrative, and the dominance of the figure within the field all in various ways support a 3rd century date for the relief.
7. Sarcophagus fragment with male figure
   White, fine-grained marble; 20 × 17 × 8 cm. Date: last quarter 3rd century AD.
   The fragment forms the right shoulder, throat and torso of a male figure. He appears to be wearing a tunic, though a long oblique line from the left shoulder may indicate a mantle. The figure is depicted frontal to the viewer, presumably standing or even as a bust representation. The folds of the tunic are deep and evenly rendered, falling in regular vertical lines from the shoulders and in diagonals below the throats.

Fig. 8.11 Fragment of corner decoration (BF)

8. Fragment of corner decoration (Fig. 8.11)
Pentelic marble; 12 × 17 × 7 cm. Date: 3rd century AD?
The fragment is the upper right-hand corner most probably of a sarcophagus.[52] A marine thyasus in lively, low relief decorates the uppermost part on both sides, in a continuous frieze set within a recessed field. Below this, a hand with long slender fingers cups an element consisting of three vertical bands. The latter may represent a stylized capital or, less likely, the uppermost ties of a garland. The hand most probably belongs to a standing figure, like a Victory or an Amazon, who holds the upper edge of the sarcophagus.[53]

9. Relief fragment with outstretched arm
Pentelic? marble; 35 × 25 × 11 cm. Date: last half 4th century AD (Theodosian?)
The relief may originate from a sarcophagus. Set on a plain, raised ground, the fragment depicts the left hand and arm of a person wearing a loose, sleeved tunic. The drapery folds of the tunic fall in long flowing lines, as if rendered in movement; the long sleeve covers the arm almost to the wrist. The hand is damaged but enough remains to indicate that it is shown with the palm towards the viewer. The break-line across the palm could conceivably indicate that the person was originally depicted holding a *rotulus* or bookscroll. The arm is straight, held away from the body and the gesture is hence not that of an *orans*. Rather the gesture seems celebratory or declamatory – particularly with the possible inclusion of a book scroll. The former finds similarities in the gesture of Daniel on a sarcophagus at Aire sur l'Adour, the latter in representations of Christ, though in these he is always shown with his right arm outstretched.[54]

Monuments 1 and 2

The cleaning of the drainage ditch sections exposed two stone built structures of a monumental character, referred to as Monuments 1 and 2 (Figs 8.12–16).[55] The two monuments lay adjacent, though Monument 2 had been demolished to its foundations (Fig. 8.13). It is not certain whether Monument 1 replaced Monument 2 or whether they functioned in tandem. Two masonry plastered 'boxes' built on top of Monument 2's lower masonry suggest that this monument was already levelled when these were installed. However, they may not have been original features of Monument 1 and might have been built only after the demise of Monument 2, and subsequent to a period during which the two monuments had functioned alongside each other (cf. Fig 8.13). The robbing out of Monument 2, makes it difficult to gauge its precise dimension; however, it seems to be a subsquare measuring 3.75 m north–south × 3.50 m east–west. It was composed of large, carefully cut limestone blocks, and iron clamps with lead coverings were recorded clipping adjacent blocks together in the north–east and south west corners. Masonry only survives from a level equivalent to the base of Monument 1 and below. In parts even this had been robbed out.

Monument 1 lay immediately to the north of Monument 2, with its lower plinth abutting the remaining slabs of the latter (Figs 8.14–15). It was a square structure, roughly the same size as Monument 2, measuring 3.60 m north–south and 3.50 m east–west, and constructed from well-cut, fine white limestone laid on a raft of mortared masonry rubble. The blocks forming the sides were positioned on top of this raft. In the approximate centre of the square, slightly off-set to the west, lay a distinct circle of slightly darker grey coloured mortared stone, 0.85 m in diameter (Fig. 8.16). This is interpreted as the base of a column or other feature, central to the original purpose and function of the monument. Above the masonry raft was a trampled and compacted layer of limestone chips, along with broken and damaged limestone blocks. This clearly represents *in situ* working of the blocks for the superstructure of the monument. The chips on top of the concrete base are the waste from this operation, and it is clear that some of the larger pieces were semi-completed but were broken while being shaped. These were then left in the centre of the monument to act as a core. Pottery dated to the late 2nd or 3rd century AD from this deposit parallels the dates obtained from ceramics recovered from the deposit on top of which the monument was constructed. The two small plaster-lined, box-shaped features mounted on the southern side of Monument 1 contained ceramics dated to the early 2nd

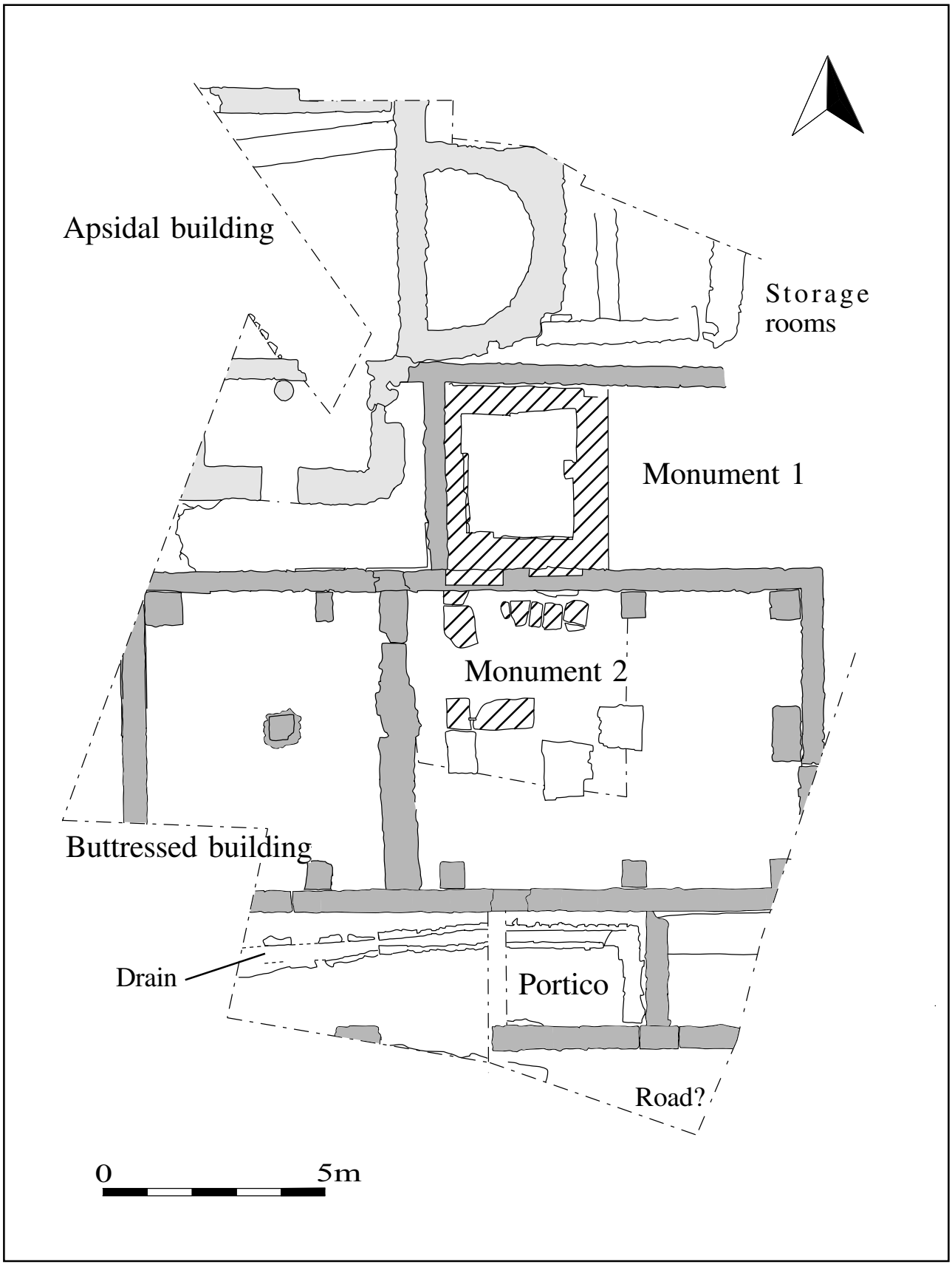


Fig. 8.12 The Monuments and the Buttressed building (BF)

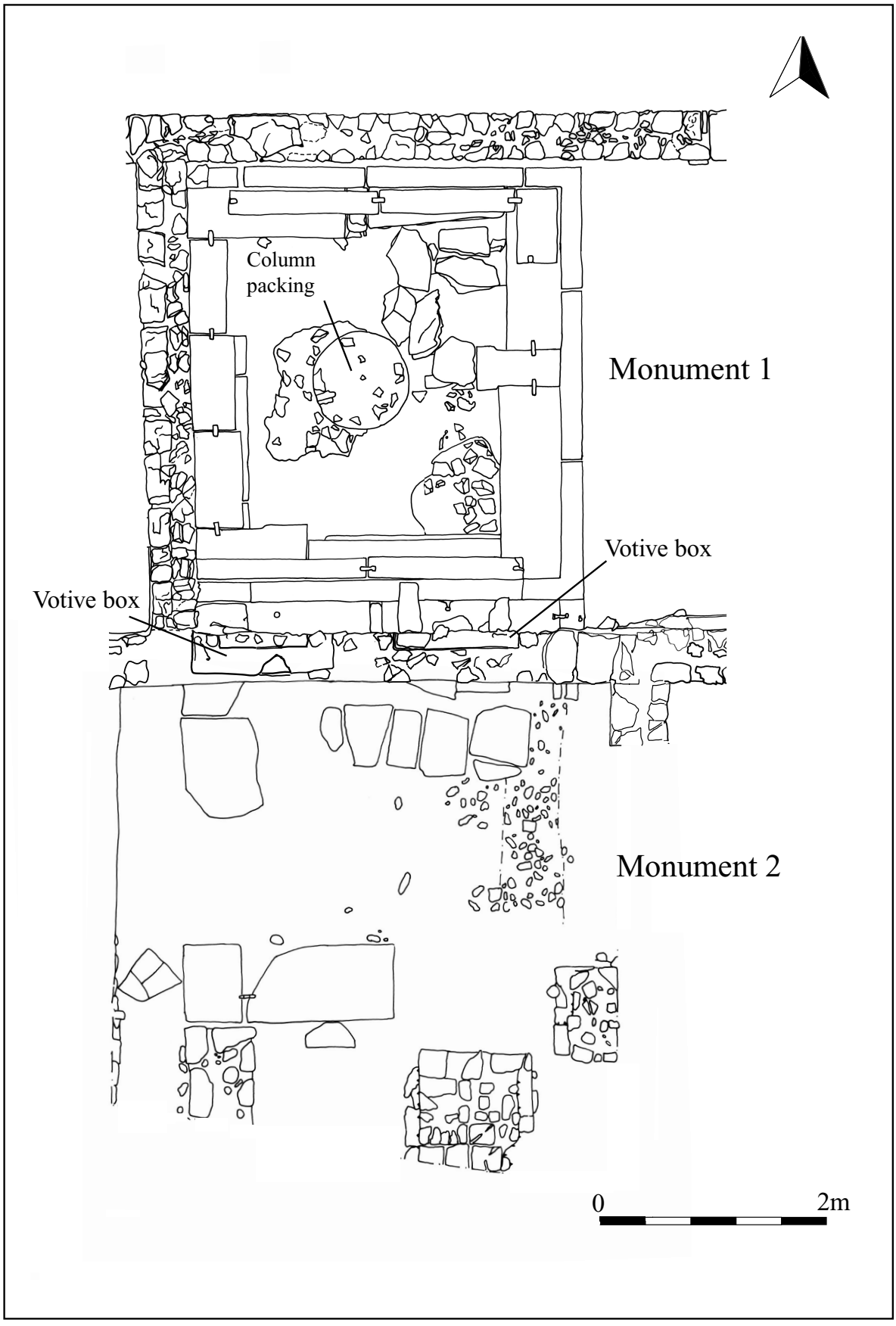


Fig. 8.13 Plan of Monuments 1 and 2 (BF)

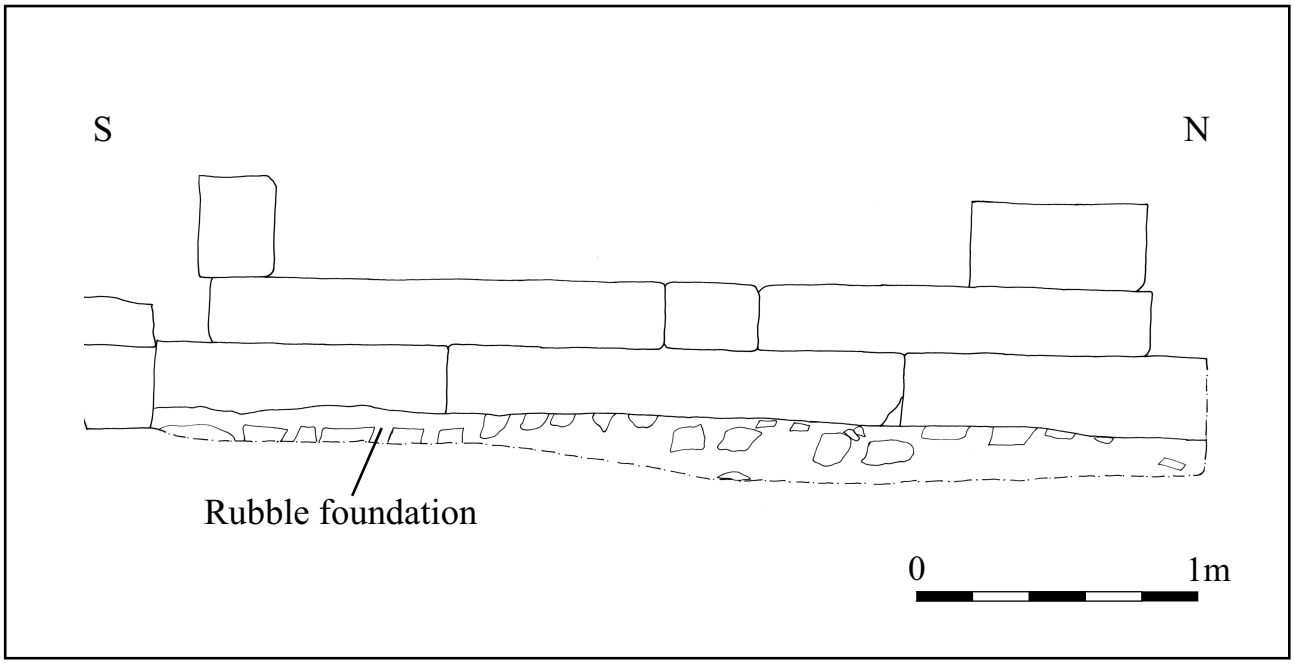


Fig. 8.14 Monument 1, elevation (BF)

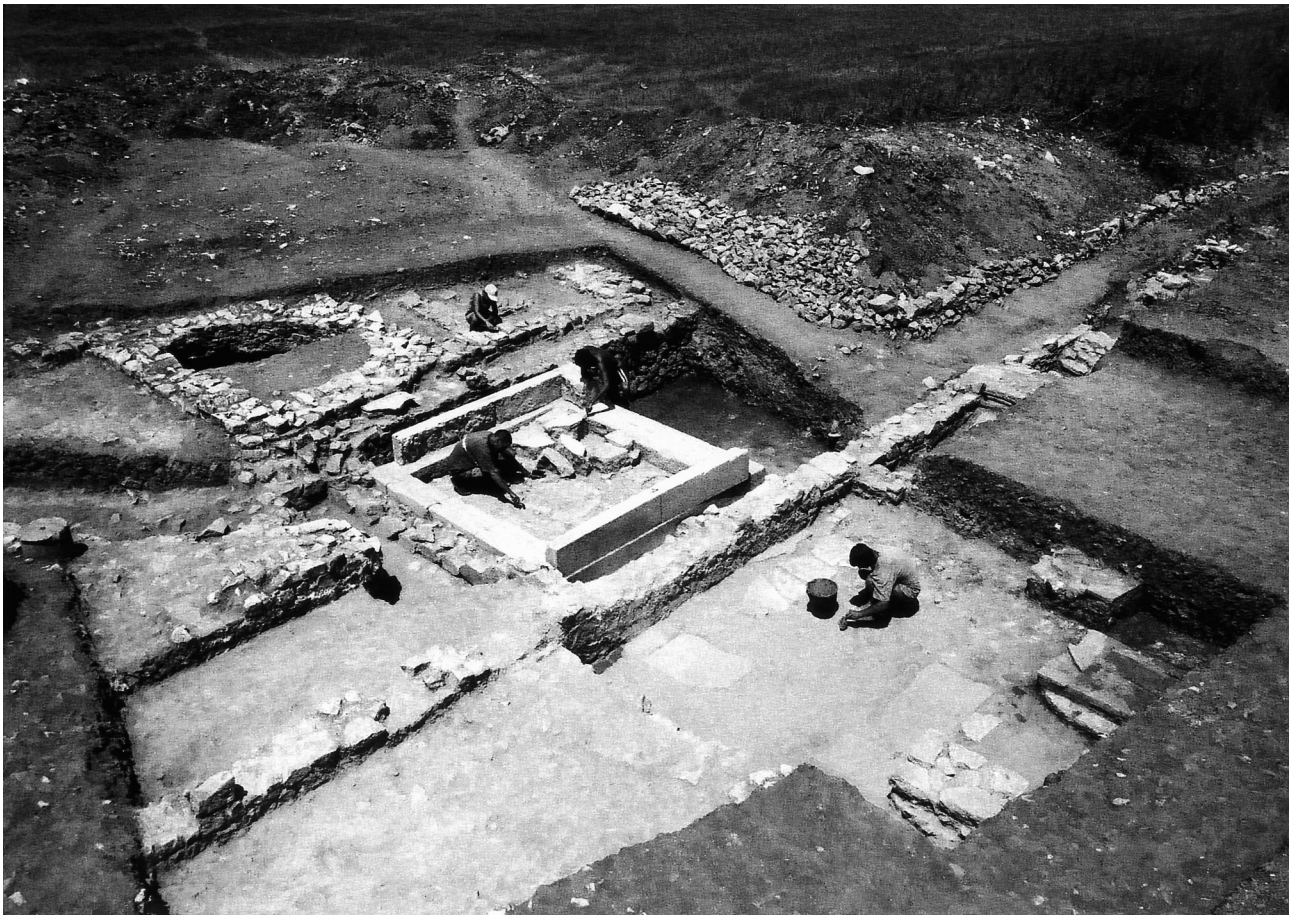


Fig. 8.15 Monuments 1 and 2 seen from the south west (BF)

Fig. 8.16 Detail of the column base in Monument 1 (BF)

century. These boxes, measuring *c.* 1.25 × 0.35 m and 1.10 × 0.15 m, were later encircled by an east–west wall constructed on top of Monument 2 and along the southern edge of Monument 1 (Fig. 8.12). Together it is thought that they formed boxes for depositing votive objects, served as altar bases, or carried some small statue or other artefacts or offerings. Originally they would have been built free-standing on the lowest step of the monument.

The Buttressed building

To the south and west of Monument 1, a large (14.50 m east–west × 7.40 m north–south) rectangular room with annexed spaces to the east and west was constructed (Figs 8.3, 8.12). This was erected over the demolished remains of Monument 2 and cut through a deposit containing ceramics of the 2nd to 3rd century AD. The building lies north of the east-west roadway identified near Bath-house 1, and – given the later arrangement of the portico on the southern side of the room – it is highly probable that it too fronted this thoroughfare (cf. Fig. 8.4).

The internal masonry walls were plastered and two doorways have so far been identified, one leading from the south into the western half of the room and the other allowing access from the east. The phasing of these doors is still uncertain. A complex sequence of rebuilding and alterations were made to the building, the principal being the apparent addition of a second storey. This seems to have caused structural problems on the somewhat insubstantial walls of the original room, and at least nine internal masonry buttresses were added against the plastered walls, and possibly an internal dividing wall with a doorway, which was later narrowed and blocked (Fig. 8.12). In the two unequal spaces thus created, two further, more substantial, piers probably functioned as post pads to support the sagging upper floor. A sequence of at least four re-laid floors accompanied this structural remodelling.

To the north of the smaller room was a further space with plastered interior walls. This did not appear to communicate directly with the buttressed room, but it too butted hard against the western side of Monument 1 and contained a sequence of floor levels. Further additions are evident on the southern, exterior side of the buttressed room. A well-constructed drain built of mortared tiles followed a roughly parallel course to the southern wall (Fig. 8.12). Its easternmost section may well have been robbed out at a later date. The drain seems to have existed within a portico, 2.50 m wide, north of the projected *actus* road line. Three rough piers of mortared stone, 2.50 m apart, provided the support for a roof or perhaps a platform connected with the second floor. Whether there

was a timber or masonry precursor to the portico is unknown.

The portico was subsequently altered by various blockings. Walls were inserted within the two easternmost arches of the portico, while an internal north–south wall portioned off the eastern space. This seems to have occurred at a date surprisingly soon after the construction of the portico. The drain was altered for this reconstruction, its eastward continuation being removed and a new return apparently constructed within the portico. The whole of this structure was substantially demolished at a date within the 3rd or, at the very latest, 4th century. There was little building rubble remaining from its destruction and even tile fragments found in the demolition horizons were fragmented.

The Apsidal building

To the northwest of Monument 1 was a structure that stratigraphically seems to be the latest construction in this area of the Vrina Plain. A building comprising a central space measuring 5.25 m north–south was flanked on the east by an apse and on the south by an apparent vestibule (Fig. 8.12, cf. Fig. 9.1). The walls were cut through deposits containing 3rd-century coins and earlier walls. An earlier building on the site, probably a storage building of at least three rooms, is represented by the remains of a few short walls and an *in situ* dolium base to the east of the apse. The central room had been cut diagonally by the 1970s drainage ditch and little remained of its original form. It was bounded on the north, east and south by walls and may originally also have been so along the west; though, the western part and the northern extent of the structure remained outside the limits of excavation. A floor, a *cocciopesto* pavement, survived in part, founded on a raft of limestone rubble. The apse measured 3.45 m wide × 2.26 m deep and was formed by poorly built though substantial walls. The size and rough polygonal form of the apse might suggest that it originally sustained a semi dome. There was no surviving pavement in the apse though it was clear that this would have been several centimetres above the surface of the central room.

The vestibule to the south held the only visible means of access. A small rectangular room 3.50 m wide and apparently slightly narrower than the central space, it was bonded into the rest of the structure (Fig. 8.12). A doorway 0.80 m wide opened to the south. The floor of the vestibule was a similar *cocciopesto* to the central room. The top of a broken column had been set into the floor of the vestibule against the southern wall, and on axis with the doorway. Its function is unknown, though it may have supported a basin or other feature. The function of this enigmatic building and its relationship with surrounding structures is presently a matter for consideration. Originally it was thought to have been a small basilica building, with nave and aisle, but it is possible that the apse is a flanking feature, perhaps one of a pair, or even a triconch. Indeed, it is not clear if the Buttressed building was still standing when the Apsidal building was in use. The Apsidal building was built over horizons of demolition rubble, but the eastern section of the Buttressed building could conceivably still have been standing at this time. Its internal subdivision wall might correspond to the demolition of its western end to accommodate an approach to the Apsidal building. To create this access at least the western part of the Buttressed building may have been demolished. The demolition levels overlying the Apsidal building contained 3rd and 4th-century pottery.

The residential area

The geophysical survey identified a number of possible houses or villas.[56] These and other structures were traceable on the ground either as scatters of building stone or as truncated walls and floors visible in irrigation ditches. The presence of houses and villas among the regular grids and other structures on the Vrina Plain underscores that this southern extension of Butrint formed a regular part of the cityscape and was not merely a suburb or isolated sanctuary precinct. However, it should be noted that all the domestic complexes identified thus far fall very clearly into the category of elite residences, large houses with reception rooms, courtyards and baths.

Bath-houses are one of the most common structural features of Roman Butrint. From the impressive 2nd-century public baths on the southeast side of the theatre to the single heated room of the 3rd/4th-century bath built for the Triconch Palace, bathing was an intrinsic part of urban society and lifestyle. No less than four bath-buildings were recorded in the 2002–3 assessment, and a fifth is suspected from ditch-side observations in the northeast of the Plain. Elsewhere, to the north and south of the peristyle building (identified by the geophysical survey on the western side of the settlement), small apse-ended structures may also represent bath-houses. Unlike the development in elite residences mapped through the excavations of the Triconch Palace in Butrint, the occupation of virtually all the domestic buildings on the plain seems to come to an end during the 3rd century AD.[57]

The 2nd-century buildings

A short distance (50 m) east of the aqueduct an urban block was bisected by the ditch. Geophysical responses suggested buried walls covering an area some 50 m east–west and 40 m north–south.[58] They represent building lines of a somewhat disparate – and difficult to interpret – collection of structures evident on either side of the ditch (Fig. 8.17). The assessment excavations revealed a range of rooms comprising a series of (comparatively poorly-built) masonry walls. A masonry stair block with decorative scored mortar indicates that at least part of the residence was on two floors. The rooms were repeatedly reused and adapted, some apparently used as stores, and

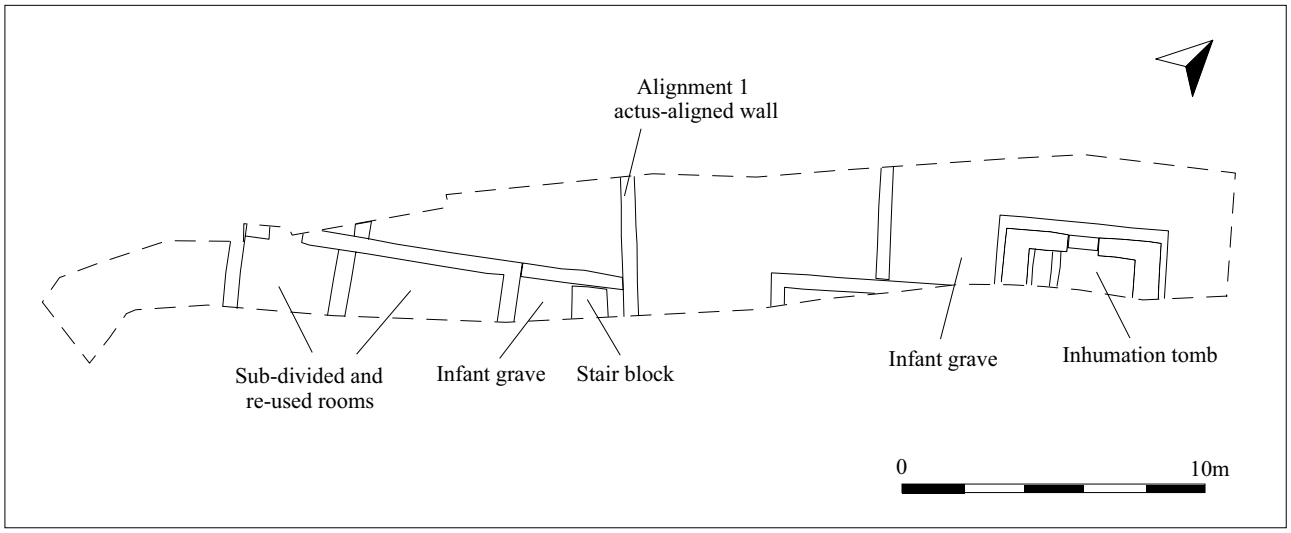


Fig. 8.17 The 2nd-century buildings and the Infant graves (BF)

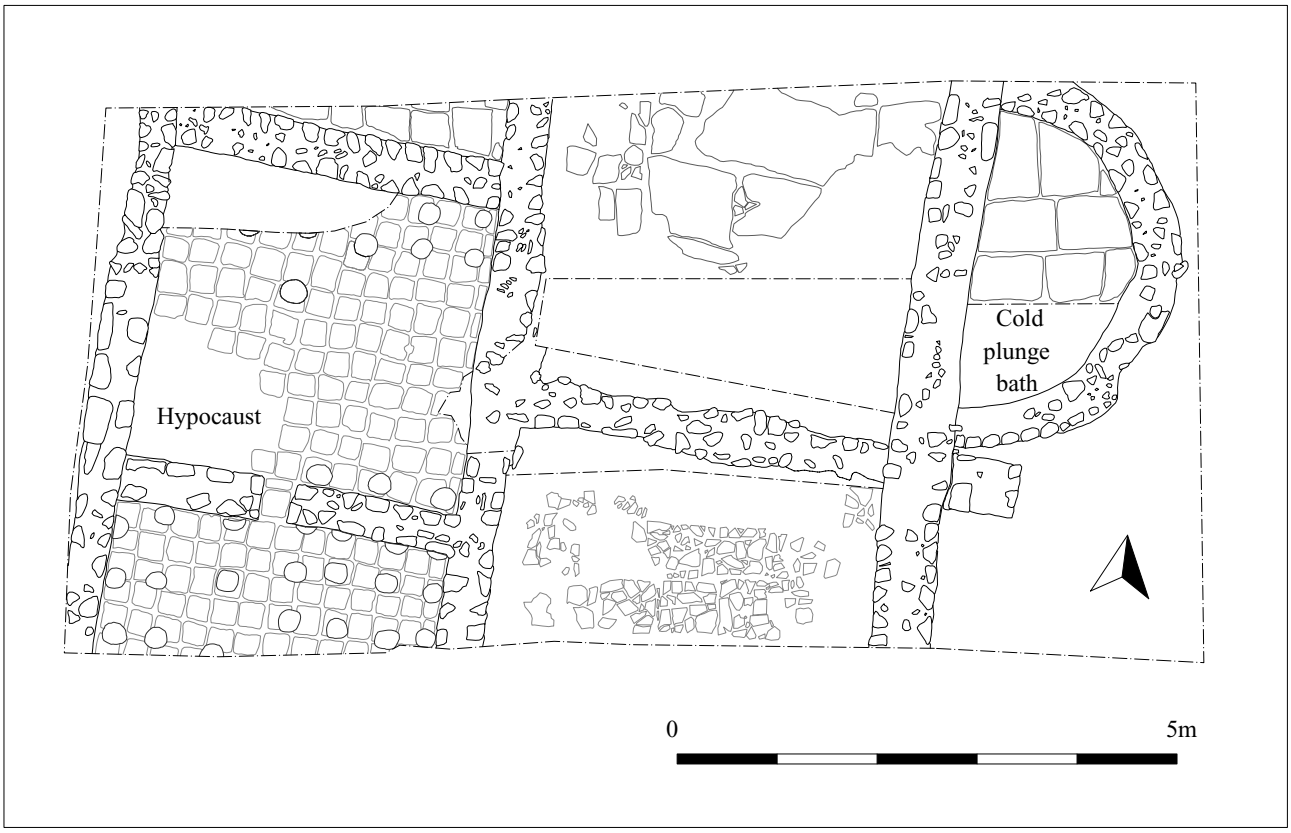


Fig. 8.18 Bath-house 2, plan (BF)

dated to the 2nd century AD. Collectively they may represent an expanding and changing town house, or perhaps more likely, some sort of mercantile property, focused on and accessed from the contemporary water-front to the north. The geophysics results show that the structures continued eastwards beyond the tomb, and it is believed that the buildings encroached into what had formerly been the cemetery on the Vrina Plain.

Fig. 8.19 Bath-house 2 seen from the east (BF)

The outlying villa and Bath-house 2

An elaborate structure with a peristyle and associated apsidal chambers was located a long way, *c*. 450 m, from the nucleus of the Vrina Plain settlement with few other buildings nearby.[59] It was cut by a drainage ditch and its bath-house was partly excavated during the 2002–3 assessment (Figs 8.18 and 8.19).

The function of this close-knit group of structures has been debated since their plan was first revealed by geophysical mapping.[60] Above ground the evidence for structures comprises a visible rise and uneven surface in the area of the buildings, accompanied by abundant masonry rubble dispersed by ploughing. The geophysical interpretations show that the buried walls take an unusual form with a rectangular cluster of small rooms, including an apsidal structure, corridors and possible colonnades (cf. Figs 7.4 and 7.8). The structure is fronted by a semi-circular, exedra-like, ditched entrance to the south, while to the rear lies a small peristyle with ancillary structures along one side. Together, the buildings have been interpreted as an outlying villa, or road station, but there is a possibility that the peristyle actually represents a small *palaestra* and that the adjoining rooms are bath-buildings. A short trench cut to test geophysical anomalies encountered walls as predicted and recovered pottery predominantly of 2nd-century date, but was unable to add anything to the interpretation of the structures.[61]

Masonry, cut by the 1970s drainage ditch to the north of the building, was known from previous field observations and thought to belong to a bath-house. These remains were targeted for assessment excavation to attempt to understand the nature of the occupation at this apparently isolated location and to test theories of late eastwards expansion from the settlement core. If the pattern of *actus* division established for the area to the west of the aqueduct is extended across the eastern part of the Plain, the bath-house would be situated in the north-eastern corner of a grid square (cf. Fig. 7.5). The group of buildings to the south would then front on to a provisional road line, with the exedra extending across the road. However, the existence of the second actus grid for the eastern section of the Vrina Plain settlement complicates matters as the bath-house and accompanying complex might relate to this scheme of organisation.

Within the width of the drainage ditch, a set of rectangular rooms, and a small apse, extended for 10.50 m east–west and was exposed for 5.70 m north–south

(Figs 8.18 and 8.19). The whole or parts of six separate rooms were identified, including both hot and cold rooms identified on the distinction between tiled and flagstone floors. While the complete ground plan of the building was not obtained, and no doorways between rooms were found due to the degree of damage from mechanical excavation of the ditch, it is suspected that the entrance to the bath would have been gained from the other buildings in the block to the south. An anticlockwise passage through the baths would then take the visitor via the cold rooms through to the hottest. The hot rooms themselves had a southwestern aspect to maximise the heat from the sun; this effect may have been enhanced with windows opening on the south and west sides.[62] The bath-house foundations were dug into organic marsh silts with the top of the foundations apparently at contemporary ground level. The silts were similar to those recorded in the deepest excavations around the Inhumation tomb and the column monument (Monument 1) to the west and represent the 'natural' subsoil. Beneath parts of the building these soils had been re-worked with pieces of building material and mortar, built up and consolidated to form level platforms for the floors. The sub-floors of the heated rooms were at ground/foundation top level. A possible stone surface was observed at foundation level to the eastern exterior of the building.

The bath-house was constructed beginning with an outer frame of walls: two parallel on the east and west sides, and, presumably (but outside the excavation), two more forming the north and south sides. None of the walls survived to any great height, each having been machined down to base level in the centre part of the ditch and elsewhere demolished or robbed in antiquity. In part, the western wall incorporated better prepared squared limestone blocks than were used in any of the remaining walls, which were constructed more haphazardly. Scored lines in the mortar between blocks were used to enhance the impression of regularity. Several of the stone blocks exhibited the same softly chiselled facing as that seen on the Inhumation tomb and the Kalivo tomb (see below). Given this marked similarity, and the proximity of the Vrina Plain cemetery, it seems possible that the well-presented stonework had been robbed from an older tomb. Internal partition walls were subsequently inserted within the structural shell, apportioning the interior to a minimum of six chambers. Initially a central north–south partition was constructed. Non-load bearing walls were then bonded in to it, or built against it, on both east and west sides to create small rooms. These were constructed in fairly random fashion and included further isolated examples of the chisel-faced blocks. On the west side two opposed short sections of wall, dividing a pair of heated rooms, preserved a small gap or vent between them to allow hot air from the furnace to circulate between hypocausts. On the eastern exterior an apse was added, defining a cold plunge bath. Its construction materials and style is markedly different to the rest of the structure, suggesting that it was built as a later adjunct. At some later (unknown) period a substantial stone buttress was added adjacent to the plunge bath on the east side, perhaps to compensate for subsidence into the marshy subsoil.

Parts of original floor surfaces survived in all six rooms and cement preparations were exposed where ditch machining had chopped through the floors above. The three cold spaces were surfaced with large limestone flags, almost certainly robbed from a more prestigious structure nearby, and cut to fit. As a consequence, the stones are not laid in regular rows, but resembled a geometric puzzle. The plunge bath floor was set on a thick concrete base and was overlapped by a wall-lining of waterproof plaster. There was no surviving evidence of steps down in to the bath nor of a drainage pipe. Assuming an anticlockwise procession, the cold areas were approached via a room with a tiled floor, set at a slightly lower level than the others, which may have served as an entrance vestibule or changing room.

The two heated rooms on the west side of the building survived only at sub-floor level. They were surfaced with small square tiles that were continuous through the vent in the walls separating the two rooms. The tiles were set flush with the west walls but cut down to one third size against the east walls, which perhaps betrays a lapse in calculating the proportions of the rooms. Similarly, where circular *pilae* stacks for the suspended floor survived, they were generally arranged in even rows from north–south, but in un-even rows with variable spaces in-between from east–west. However, this layout may also have reflected a mixture of material-sizes (*bipedales* and *sesquipedales*) used in the assembly of the suspended floor. The bath-house *praefurnium* was not found within the assessment trench, but the layout of the room complex, and the position of the vent between the heated rooms, indicate that the fire chamber must have been located off the southern hypocaust, or off another room to its south.

The bath-building was destroyed in the 2nd century AD. Indeed, preliminary study of the pottery from the trial trench dug in the building range to the south, suggests that the entire complex may have been both built and demolished during the course of the 2nd century. On the south side of the bath-house the *pilae* were sealed by a thick deposit of demolition debris comprising limestone rubble; mortar, *opus signinum*; bricks and tiles, including *tegulae mammatae*. The use of *tegulae mammatae* for heating walls is generally considered to precede that of *tubuli*, and argues for a correspondingly early date for the construction of the bath-house.[63] One of the derelict rooms of the bath-house was briefly re-occupied during the 4th century (see below) and the plundering of masonry continued intermittently throughout the later 4th and 5th century. It is interesting to observe that, although ruined, the former buildings still provided some focus for settlement activity through late antiquity. More surprising is the discovery of a small

amount of medieval pottery this far east from the main concentrations around Bath-houses 1 and 4. It is assumed that the area still presented a slightly elevated, and therefore attractive, location for occupation. After the structure was finally abandoned, it was subsumed by aggregating marsh silts and clays initiated by eustatic rise or by changes in landuse introducing silt into the freshwater river system.

The peristyle house

A large house was represented by a clear pattern of geophysical anomalies to the south of Bath-house 1 (cf. Fig. 7.7).[64] Like the outlying villa, this can be interpreted as a peristyle building, with ranges of rooms surrounding a courtyard with a central feature, perhaps a fountain or pool. The villa is situated on the south side of at least one road line of the proposed alignment 1, though its precise dimensions and relationship to the rest of the land division is uncertain from the geophysics plot. A series of rooms, including one with a mosaic floor, were excavated to the south of the east-west road that separates Bath-house 1 from the peristyle house. However, it is not clear whether these form part of the peristyle complex or are themselves elements of a different, intermediate, building. The central focus of the eastern wing is a substantial apsidal room, probably a reception room or *triclinium*. Other ranges of rooms are clearly visible on the other sides of the central space, while the middle was clearly occupied by a circular construction, perhaps a well or cistern.

The Apsidal hall

North of the peristyle house is another substantial complex of buildings. The principal element of which was a large apsidal hall, or aula, later converted into the narthex of a palaeochristian and medieval church (Fig. 8.20, see also Fig. 8.4). As a consequence of this reuse none of the horizons relating to the aula have yet been examined, though the shell of this room is substantially intact. The apse remains standing to almost 4 m high, and seems to have been 8.96 m wide; the room as a whole was probably 13.58 m wide. The apse was on alignment with an axial doorway in its western wall, which gave access onto an open court, possibly a peristyle courtyard.

The Apsidal hall was evidently a reconstruction of earlier buildings in this plot. The apse, and its sustaining wall, formed the western side of the north–south alleyway and was built in two further sections. Above a lower curving section the second stage comprised both the internal wall face and the springing of a semi dome, along with a flat rear face towards the alleyway that

Fig. 8.20 The Apsidal hall (BF)

continued the plane of the lower section upwards for the full height of the wall. Here was a significant load, which the basic foundation walls could evidently not sustain, and two triangular buttresses were built as an integral part of the upper section, placed in the angles between the apse wall and the early alley-side wall. The apse wall was built of tiles varying between 0.27 m^2 and 0.31 m^2 and bearing the characteristic finger swipe-marks found in a number of buildings at Butrint, for example room 24 at the Triconch Palace.[65] The tiles were well laid but bonded by very thick courses of mortar, up to 50 mm, and three levels of 5 put-log holes *c.* 0.12 × 0.12 m are visible on the apse interior. No traces remain of any wall plaster and there is no evidence of clamps of spacers for marble plaques. On the northern part of the interior apse wall, though, there were distinct lines of limescale (*sinter*) that must have formed from water leaking down the interior of the wall face over an extended period. The floor of the apsidal chamber, which abuts the brickwork of the apse, is a fine *cocciopesto* surface set over a bed of rammed tile fragments. The arms of the apse connecting with the side walls of the room were also constructed in tile masonry.

The face of the wall towards the alley was finished in rough limestone and tile masonry, with alternating courses of tiles and stone at the lower part and stone predominating towards the top. The whole surface was heavily grouted in a pink mortar that also spilt over in part onto the curved apse wall. Put-log holes penetrating the entire wall were also recorded. Little else is known of the internal arrangements of this aula. The insertion of later walls, doors and floors – part of a 5th/6th–century basilica (see below) – has obscured the original floor levels and arrangements, and even necessitated the demolition of the southern wall of the Apsidal hall. In its original form it is likely to represent a reception room or *triclinium*, although other functions cannot be wholly ruled out. The aula itself is a substantial room that may suggest a guild-house or *collegium*, rather than a domestic dwelling. The structure is dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD, which is early given the thick mortar style of the brickwork, normally considered to be a late feature.[66] Apsed halls are found in several of the

Fig. 8.21 Bath-house 3, plan (BF)

buildings on the Plain, and the Apsidal hall was clearly an important feature on the Vrina Plain before the 3rd century.

Bath-house 3

Another bath-building was excavated on the northwestern edge of the Vrina Plain settlement (Figs 8.21 and 8.22). Situated to the north of the Apsidal hall it probably formed one of the latest stratigraphic elements of this complex. The structure was buried beneath an unusually deep overburden, and 1 m or more of sterile coarse grey silt was removed by mechanical excavation. Beneath this deposit virtually no archaeological deposits survived on top of remnant late Roman masonry. This is an unusual phenomenon as at all other points investigated on the Vrina Plain demolished structures are invariably sealed by substantial demolition and reclamation horizons.

The structure had been robbed to sub-floor level, although it was apparent that it was once part of a substantial complex. Only the eastern end of the building was revealed within the excavated area, with the hot pool the easternmost chamber (Fig. 8.21). To its west, the whole of one heated room and part of another further west were exposed. Very small parts of two other rooms of undetermined function on the north side of the complex were also glimpsed. Taking the length of its foundations visible in the ditch, the entire building range measured just over 20 m in length. Given this surprising size, it is a possibility that other ancillary rooms were also part of the complex. Such a room might be located off the heated rooms to make joint use of the hot water supply.

A thick footing of stone and mortar was visible along the entire southern side of the bath-house and also at the east end where the *praefurnium* had been cut by the 1970s drainage ditch. The footings were constructed upon thin horizontal bedding bands of silt set on a stony surface contemporary with much earlier buildings. The footings themselves comprised angular limestone fragments and blocks set in coarse mortar. Later (6th-century) post-holes cut through the floor (see below) showed that the footings extended as a single contiguous element across the full width of the building, which thereby rested on a raft of concrete and stone. This presumably compensated for the lack of firm bedrock to take conventional wall foundations. The sub-floor in the bath-house was constructed on top of, or more accurately as part of, the footings. It presented a rough and irregular surface, consisting of angular limestone pieces, much in the same form as the late 1st- or 2nd-century bath-house at Diaporit, *c*. 2.50 km along the shore of Lake Butrint.[67] Two drains were incorporated directly into the sub-floor to clear stale water from the chambers above, running it away to the north. Both features ran at right angles to the principal east–west building axis and appear to demarcate

Fig. 8.22 Bath-house 3 seen from the west (BF)

partitions between the plunge pool and the two heated rooms, perhaps being housed in the base of supporting walls. Where they survived the subsidence and robbing that later befell the building, the drains were lined with flat-faced stones and patches of a waterproof lining were observed, although the drains may have actually carried ceramic pipes. Both continued beneath the main north wall of the bath-house to the outside.

The bath-house was framed by three apparently separate structural walls, although the two on the north side may originally have been part of the same build, with the break between them a post-abandonment phenomenon. They were constructed on top of the sub-floor, a fact witnessed quite dramatically where the floor had subsided and the north wall remained intact suspended above it. The north wall turned along the east face of the building and returned to flank the north side of the *praefurnium* flue. Although very little of the wall remained, it could be seen to be composed around a limestone rubble core in such a way that bricks and tiles faced the inside of the building with dressed facing stone visible to the outside. The wall along the southern side of the building stepped in (marking the edge of the hot plunge pool) at its east end (Fig. 8.21). It then formed a tight quasi semi-circular curve admitting the *praefurnium* flue into the building. The fact that the curve was not mirrored in the northern wall suggests that the shape was adopted to avoid blocking the narrow access outside the building, where other structures crowded in. A single course of stonework survived at the east end on top of four courses of bricks or tiles. To the west, the wall had been destroyed by ditch machining.

Outside the building, the *praefurnium* consisted of two parallel masonry walls with a tiled furnace floor, which had been re-built at a higher level on one occasion. This structure may once have included a boiler positioned on top of it, but the degree of demolition here was such that not even the cover, or arch, once crowning the *praefurnium* flue survived. Heat from the *praefurnium* was admitted in to the bath-building through the gap formed between the two structural walls. It was a substantial feature, providing heat to a number of sizeable rooms to the west; presumably its scale reflects specific calculations based on the area that required heating. Furthermore, by restricting the width of the furnace area with flanking walls, heat from the fire could be transferred more directly into the hypocaust, perhaps offering the benefit of more even distribution and less dissipation of heat. Silt and ash residue from fires at the mouth of the chamber were deposited on the floor of the flue.

Inside the bath-house itself, the line of the *praefurnium* flue was continued between the in-turned bath-house walls, and beyond as far as the first lateral drain, by a double row of ceramic tiles. The purpose of the channel formed by the bath-house walls was presumably to increase the through-draught, and efficient flow of hot air into the space beneath the heated chambers, by drawing the heat directly from the *praefurnium* into the building. Unfortunately no wall vents or flue pipes were recorded in the excavation that could determine exactly in which directions the hot air was encouraged to flow. A number of circular and rectangular *pilae*, and other tiles, survived (some apparently *in situ* in a sequence of short parallel lines) on the sub-floor in all three heated rooms. Where they occurred in stacks, these were generally no more than two or three tiles high, but as many as five were preserved in one particular group. No attention had been made to keep square and round tiles separate, and stacks were found consisting of incongruent types. In places square tiles had been broken to fit better against the edges of the rooms. The circular tiles had a typical diameter of 0.20 m, although a few measuring 0.36 m across were also present. This latter group may represent the use of positioning larger tiles on the top of stacks of smaller diameter in order to spread the weight of the *bipedales* of the suspended floor above. A line of rectangular *pilae* was also used, and the numerous different tile types included may indicate that the majority of them were reclaimed from earlier bath-buildings. There is also a hint – from small and apsidal rooms recorded by geophysical survey to the south, and the presence of *pilae* in the adjacent drainage ditch excavation – that perhaps this building replaced an earlier bath complex that may have existed to the west.

Because of the deep cut of the drainage ditch, the little meaningful archaeology surviving above the bath-house, and the impossibility of investigating intact stratigraphy around its foundations, dating the construction and use of the bath-house is problematical. However, its relationship with structures to the south indicates that it post-dates the later 2nd–early 3rd century. Though far from satisfactory, the date-range suggests that its construction may have followed the general, widespread 3rd-century destruction of buildings recorded in the ditch assessment. The very scale of the building demonstrates the degree to which occupation persisted in this part of the settlement. It has already been noted how the area around the outlying villa continued in use, with additional building work taking place, into at least the 3rd century. The construction and use of Bath-house 3 should perhaps then be viewed as part of the same redevelopment. On its north side, the building was overlain by a deposit containing 6th-century pottery, providing an indication of when the bath complex was torn down. This deposit consisted of coarse, silty sand with marine shells, and it is tempting to speculate if it represents deterioration in environmental conditions. The bath-house seems to occupy the north-western limit of the land that was usable during the Roman, late antique and medieval periods, and the encroachment of beach-like deposits may indicate the onset or intensification of sea level rise. Inevitably this would have had a serious impact on settlement opportunities in the most vulnerable, lower lying and coastal fringes of the Plain.

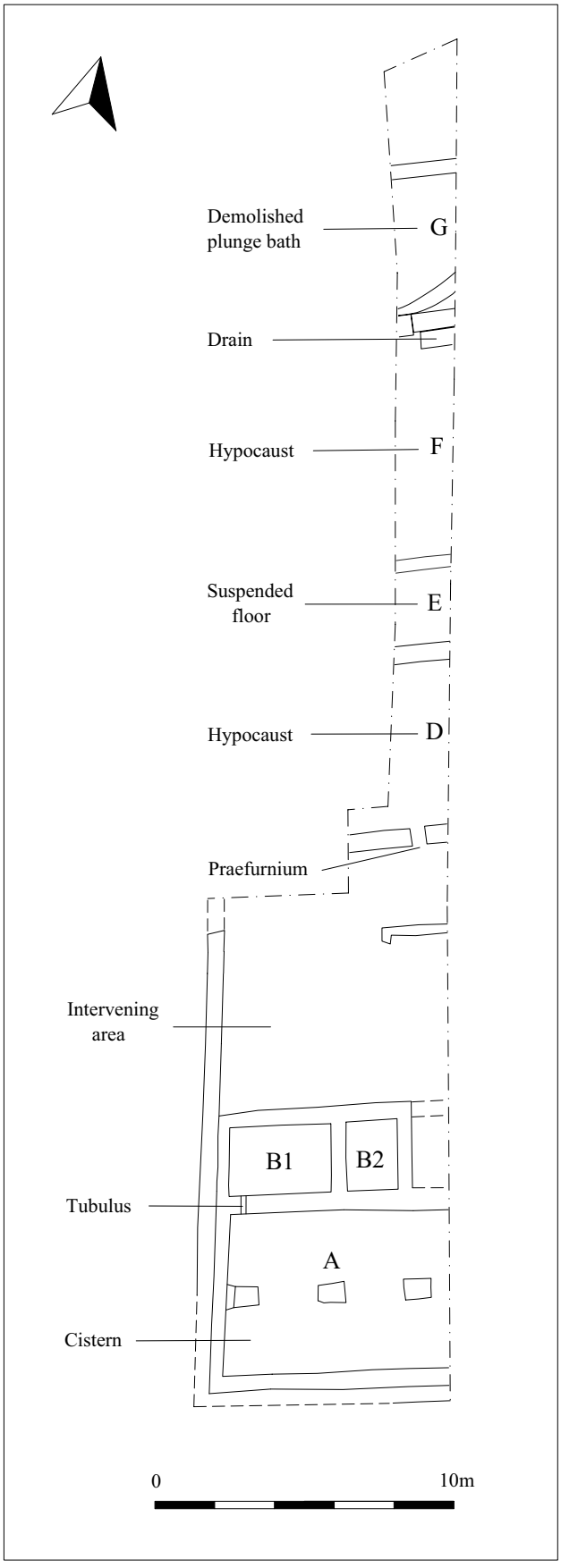


Fig. 8.23 Bath-house 1, plan (BF)

Bath-house 1 – the public baths

This complex was the most substantial of the bath-houses found on the Vrina Plain, occupying the northeastern sector within the core of the settlement and extending over a number of distinct building plots (Figs 8.23 and 8.24). It comprised a cistern and bath complex; and is most likely to be a public facility rather than the bath attached to a house. However, the bath-house itself was only sampled by a single long trench, and thus its overall plan is unknown. Its construction date is also uncertain as foundation levels were not exposed during the excavations, although it is noted that the original construction (within which bath-house 1 was erected) conforms exactly to the *actus* grid for this part of the settlement. The brickwork style and the presence of *tegulae mammatae* might suggest a date in or after the later 1st century AD, though this is at best tentative. Prior to the construction of the bath complex the western and southern limits of the northeastern plot were delimited by a masonry wall constructed from mortared limestone rubble. Two openings gave onto the north–south alleyway between the plots: a window and a doorway. A further door gave access to this structure from the east–west roadway.

Fig. 8.24 Bath-house 1 (at rear) seen from the south (BF)

The baths comprised a cistern, the bath-complex proper and the space between the two. The cistern was converted to a small independent bath-complex in the 5th century; this later complex is discussed as Bath-house 4.

The cistern

Within the angle of the early limestone and rubble walls a substantial cistern was built (Fig. 8.25, cf. Fig. 8.27). Its masonry was constructed against the extant walls, blocking the original openings with the same mortared rubble that formed the wall core of the cistern. The cistern comprised three chambers. Up to a height of *c*. 0.80 m the walls were well built of brick with occasional courses of limestone; the upper walls were brick faced. The bricks were mostly triangular, cut from whole square tiles. Quantities of complete tiles with score marks for cutting into triangles were found elsewhere on the site and seem to characterise tile-built structures of the early imperial period. A substantial chunk of masonry fallen from the southern wall within the room retains the brick coursing on its (originally internal) face. The walls were originally covered with a layer of hydraulic "pozzolana" plaster *c*. 40 mm thick with quarter round mouldings at the floor and wall junctions and in the wall angles. The floor of room A (Fig. 8.23) was found to be at least 0.50 m thick, the product of careful preparation with multiple layers for holding a substantial body of water rather than a sequence of re-flooring. A line of square holes running east–west across the floor denotes the positions of a series of substantial piers. The westernmost of these was built against the western cistern wall and the presence of a scar running up the wall at this point confirms that this hole contained a masonry pier. Remains of brick foundations in the middle of the three visible holes show that they formed part of a line of piers or an arcade that supported a vaulted roof over this substantial space.

Room B1 began life as a cistern (Fig. 8.23). The surviving space measures 3.40 × 2.30 m and 3.57 m deep. The base and sides are covered with a layer of pink hydraulic cement up to 40 mm thick. Quarter round mouldings connect the floor to the walls and are also present on the vertical angles. The walls are well built with fine masonry consisting of alternating courses of rectangular limestone blocks, tile courses and, high on the face of the southern wall, an '*opus incertum*' style of masonry. Located slightly off centre, 0.87 m from the southern wall and 1.57 m from the western wall, there is a concentric wear mark on the floor that has completely penetrated the mortar (cf. Fig. 8.27). This has exposed

Fig. 8.25 Bath-house 1, cistern (BF)

the make-up deposit of tiles that forms the foundation. The mortar remains in position in the centre of the mark; how the pattern was formed is uncertain. One possibility is that rainwater penetrated a circular hole in the cistern's barrel vaulted roof and cascaded onto the floor. Two small holes penetrate the southern wall of B1. At 1.90 m from the floor on the southern wall and 0.28 m from the western wall is a small circular hole, 80 mm in diameter, that connects this to room A. A second small connecting hole exists 0.91 m below the first example (0.93 m above the floor level and 0.24 m from the western wall). However, the adjacent area in room A is still covered by rubble and the purpose of the holes is not entirely clear. Both of these may at one time have contained lead or ceramic *tubuli*.

Room B2 was extensively modified during its history. Its original function is uncertain as the walls, built in the same style as room B1, are not lined and so it is unlikely to have been another water tank. Perhaps it may have served as an access room to draw water. Whatever, the well-faced walls begin at the same level as B1.

During the later transformation of the cistern complex into a bath-house (Bath-house 4, Fig. 8.26), elements of the eastern and western walls of room B1 were demolished. This may have been connected with repairs to the cistern, and the substantial gaps could have been to permit access for the builders. Certainly the wall fronting the alleyway was cut through and never after repaired. The holes were subsequently blocked with masonry that is rougher than the original but which imitates the alternating courses of brick and rectangular limestone slabs of the original cistern walls. The blockings were then covered on the interior with layers of pink hydraulic cement, somewhat finer than the original, but only about 10 mm thick.

The intervening area

The area between the cistern and the bath-house complex is 5 m wide. Excavations revealed a series of rubble levels resulting from the collapse of surrounding structures, with overlying deposits of ash from firing the hypocaust of the later Bath-house 4. It seems likely that this zone was always connected in some fashion to the servicing of the various bathing establishments to both the north and south. The earliest feature encountered in the intervening space was a thin 'L'-shaped wall that emerged from the eastern trench edge for 2 m before terminating in a short return to the south. The wall was built in the same style as the bath-house and the cistern, using similar brick masonry. Its function is unknown, but it might perhaps have demarcated a service room of the bath-house.

North of this wall was a later area of rough tile paving, a single course thick, built against the blocked hypocaust arch of room D of the baths. This appears as a semi-circular feature constructed from broken tiles of the same pattern used in the bath-house and edged with limestone slabs. The visible section projected from the eastern trench edge, abutting the southern face of the interrupted hypocaust wall, and measured 2.10 m north–south. Its function is unknown. The tile floor was overlain by two horizons of rubble that may have been associated with the later demolition or collapse of the bath-house. The rubble layers may have been disturbed during tidying up for the conversion of the cistern into a small bath-house in the later 4th or 5th century.

The bath-house

While no structures preceding the bath-house have been found, there is circumstantial evidence for prior activity. In room F (Fig. 8.23) a mortar sub-floor had dramatically subsided in two areas into underlying features. Elsewhere in the same room the sub-floor was solidly founded, perhaps laid over pre-existing walls or structures. All the four excavated rooms seem to have been equipped with some form of under-floor heating, though this had mostly been robbed away. The walls of the bath, as with its accompanying cistern, were all slightly off alignment with the main *actus* grid (alignment 1) of the western settlement nucleus, indicating that it is of a somewhat later date.

Room D (Fig. 8.23) was a substantial chamber bounded by walls well constructed from triangular tiles with thin courses of mortar. The interior of at least the northern wall was covered with a coating of plain white rendering. A hypocaust arch existed in the southern wall, presumably to permit firing from the intermediate space outside, though this had been blocked at a later date. The surviving sub-floor was made of firmly-laid scored tiles measuring 0.30 × 0.30 m. Hypocaust *pilae* were originally positioned on this base. These had all been removed but a layer of green clay overlying the tiled surface probably represents the washed-out remains of the bonding material for the stacks.

Situated to the north, Room E was a much smaller space, possibly a corridor or connecting room (Fig. 8.23). Here the suspended floor seems to have remained intact. Two layers of tiles of different sizes formed the base for whatever form of pavement was laid above.

Room F was a considerably larger space, again heated (Fig. 8.23). Fragments of *tegulae mammate* from heated walls were found in the destruction rubble. The walls on the north and south of the chamber were only partly constructed of coursed tile, with the remaining sections being built of mortared limestone masonry in an '*opus incertum*' style. All that remained of the sub-floor in room F was the subsided mortar bedding that retained the impressions of an original tile surface. Against the northern wall and sealed beneath the sub-floor, a drain had been constructed as part of the original build. An 'L'-shaped wall formed the western end of a brick-built channel 0.50 m wide × 0.70 m deep, with the north wall of the room forming the northern side. The roof of the drain was composed of substantial tiles measuring 0.56 × 0.47 m. This room had clearly been elaborately decorated.

Destruction rubble contained numerous fragments of mouldings and veneers in grey marble and painted plaster in blues, reds, greens and yellow on white and yellow backgrounds.

To the north lay one further heated space, room G (Fig. 8.23). The form of this room is uncertain as its northern wall had collapsed into alluvial deposits at the northern limits of the habitable area. The insertion of a later kiln into the room also prevented its full form from being revealed. However, it could be seen that its southern wall was formed by the north end of room F and partially by another wall that ran north–east at an oblique angle. Again there were the remains of mortar bedding for a sub-floor, which retained impressions of the original tiled surface.

The bath-house seems to have been demolished and usable materials stripped from the interior. The hypocaust stacks were removed and the clay bonding material left scattered over the floors of rooms D and G. For some reason room F was treated differently: the green clay was not present, and it is possible that either the *pilae* stacks were not secured in this fashion or that the robbing was more extensive here removing intact stacks in their entirety. Debris from the destruction was found in a sandy deposit over the mortar make up of the sub-floor. Dating for this phase of demolition relies on a small group of ceramics that suggest a date in the 3rd century AD. Later, the remaining standing features of the partially robbed-out bath-house were either demolished or collapsed. Evidence for this event is most clearly seen in room D where a fallen mass of partially bonded tiles with plaster facing represents the upper levels of the northern wall, which collapsed over the green *pilae* clay. The southern wall appears to have collapsed in a similar fashion into the intervening space between bath and cistern, though later disturbance and clearance had removed most of its structure. A small group of ceramics recovered from the collapse includes 3rd-century material and a single 4th-century sherd. Although the deposit had been disturbed, these dates accord with similar collapses examined in rooms in the plot south of the east-west road. In room F a layer of tile rubble produced material of a similar date and appears to be related to this same period of collapse. Finally, a rubble deposit in room G also perhaps belongs to this event. There was little evidence for activity here in the 4th or 5th century and it is likely that the bath-house site remained largely abandoned, perhaps being further robbed for its remaining useful materials.

Bath-house 4

The substantially intact cistern of Bath-house 1 was converted into a small bath-house complex (Figs 8.26–27). The ceramics associated with this process, mostly from surrounding rubble levels that had later been disturbed and tidied up, suggest a date in the late 4th or early 5th century, or later. This small complex of baths and heated chambers may accompany the building of a church and associated structures (see below). The effective abandonment of the road system permitted this new complex to sprawl out over the remains of roads and alleys. Consequently, this bath-house might be associated with an ecclesiastical centre, rather than being a public or domestic bath, and can be compared to the small baths discovered in the late antique monastic complex at Diaporit.[68] Also part of this complex may have been a flimsy masonry construction in the intervening area to the north of Bath-house 4. Its exact sequence is uncertain, though the walls of the structure were built on, or cut into, a deposit containing late 4th-century ceramics, and sealed by alluvial soil that produced ceramics and coins dated to the 6th century.[69]

The building comprised two walls that were probably bonded together; a section of one had been excavated away. These walls formed the southern and eastern sides of the structure. This building was constructed over the top of the north–south alley between the Apsidal hall and Bath-house 1, as evidenced by the rear wall of the former (the original alleyway wall) being used as its western side. The alley had clearly ceased to function as a thoroughfare. The walls were very crudely constructed from limestone lumps and tile fragments, some of which were *spolia*, and bonded with a clay matrix. A further east–west wall abutted the eastern end of the north wall.

In room A of the still-standing cistern of Bath-house 1 (cf. Fig. 8.23), two openings were cut into the western wall. Near the junction of the wall and its eastern return a doorway was inserted, presumably right through the western perimeter wall into the alleyway. This was 2.20 m high and at least 1.12 m wide. There is no sign of a surviving arch or imposts of any sort and the opening may have been left in its rough condition, or may, indeed, have been blocked up again later. The second opening exists 1.50 m to the north, in the position of a supposed window through the original eastern alley-side wall. This may have been reopened as a window to illuminate an otherwise rather dark space. Post-holes and gullies, cut the mortar floor of the cistern, and room A appears to have been used as an entrance chamber, though the vault and piers may well have been removed. The latest deposit contained ceramics of the later 5th to mid-6th century.

Room B1 was probably infilled with rubble or earth and a floor laid on the same level as that in room B2 to serve as a cold chamber (Figs 8.26 and 8.27). All traces of this and any infilling had been removed during previous excavations by the Albanian Institute of Archaeology. Any pavement, however, must have been at least 0.80 m above the original floor of room B. In room B2 the east end of the southern wall was cut away. Some 0.53 m of the original wall remained standing above the sub-floor make-up. Following the reconstruction, new southern and eastern walls were constructed to repair the breach. A hypocaust arch was inserted into the eastern wall. The room had been paved with large *sesquipedalis* tiles (0.52 × 0.52 m) the impressions of which remained in the

mortar. It now seems likely that the *praefurnium* cut through the northern wall of the room is a feature of the transformation into a bath-house. This would have provided the main heating for the complex and was stoked from the intervening area to the north that seems to have been a service zone for the bath-house complex. The *praefurnium* was rudely hacked through the wall to provide a conduit with a rough brick vault, and the insertion of a *spatheion* amphora, to provide sufficient draught.

A small, square cold plunge bath was constructed to the north of room B1, and against the earlier perimeter (alley-side) wall (Fig. 8.26). The walls of this room were all built as one, in courses of rectangular stone blocks and tile courses, in a fashion that seems to copy the earlier style of room B. The new walls vary in thickness from 0.55 m on the north and east to 0.37 m on the west. Internally the bath measures 1.31 m east–west and 1.28 m north–south. The floor is formed of tiles *c.* 0.26 m^2. A single step (0.43 m high × 0.29 m wide) permitted access to the plunge bath from room B1. The floor was covered with a layer of hydraulic mortar *c.* 15 mm thick, thickening to up to 30 mm on the walls and step. Quarter round mouldings secured the junction of the wall and floor and the vertical angles of the step. At the eastern end of the northern wall was a hole to act as a drain for the bath. A ceramic *tubulus* was visible on the interior here and it is clear that the water drained away to the north via an exit hole visible on the exterior. There was no trace of any tile channel as can be seen on the hot plunge bath to the east.

The Vrina Plain cemetery

Although it may partly be chance survival, the number of monumental masonry tombs now known from Butrint represents the largest single group of masonry mausolea known in Albania. These form just one element within the two principal cemeteries of the city (Fig. 8.1). The necropolis situated on Mount Sotirës, the isthmus connecting Butrint to the Ksamili peninsula, with its extensions on both sides of the Lake Butrint inlet, has been recognised for a long time. At Shën Dimitri, to the southeast of the assessment area, a small cemetery, dated to between the 2nd and 3rd century AD, has been identified in more recent times, but the extent and precise nature of this remains to be explored in detail (Fig. 8.1).[70]

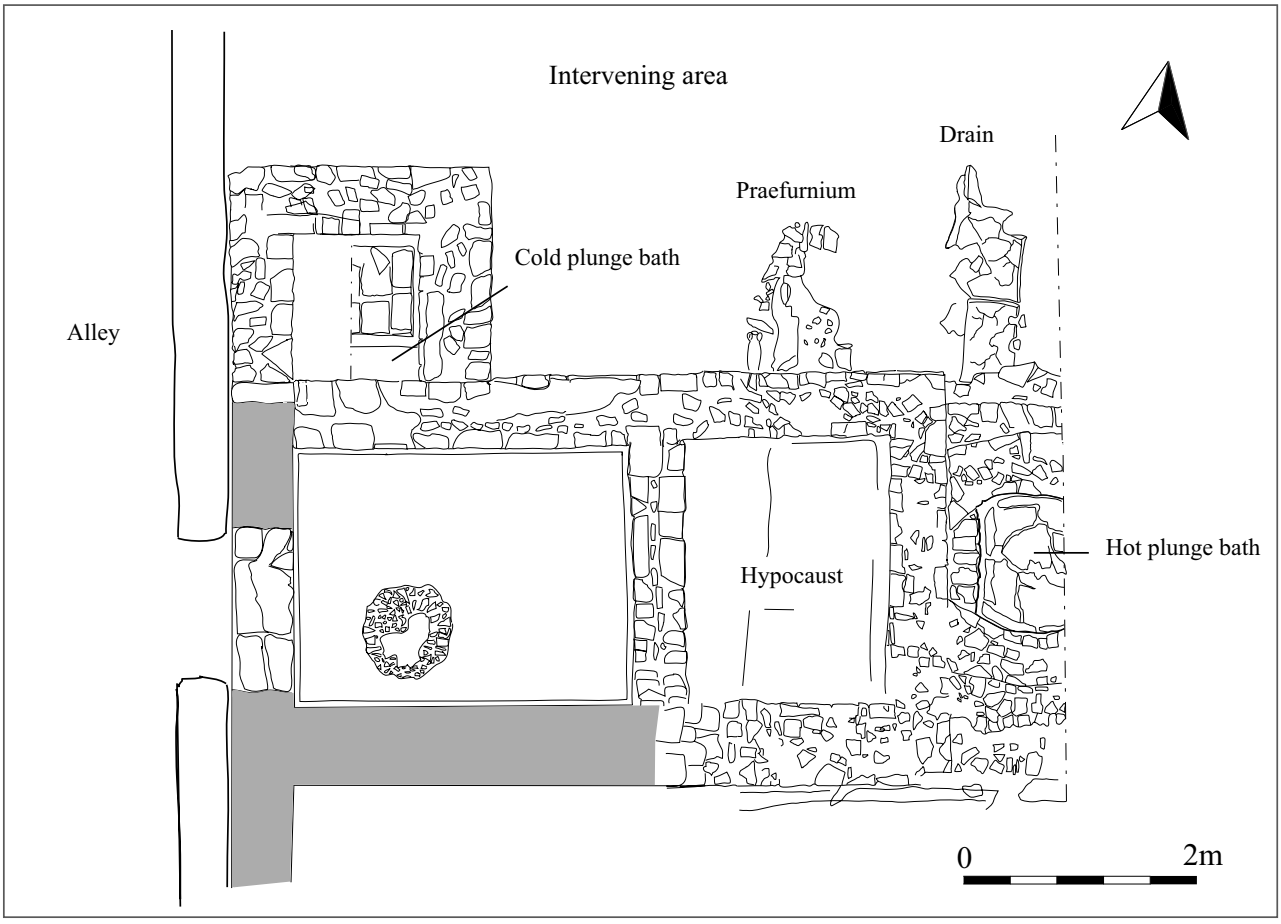


Fig. 8.26 Bath-house 4, plan (BF)

Lesser known, but now firmly established by the 2002–3 assessment excavations, is a second large cemetery located on the Vrina Plain at the eastern extremity of the suburban settlement.

The Mount Sotirës cemetery has been studied in some detail through separate investigations over three generations. Excavations were first undertaken by the Italian Archaeological Mission who during the 1930s recorded 56 burials; the cemetery was subsequently investigated by Dhimosten Budina in the 1950s and finally by Hëna Spahiu during the 1980s. Unfortunately, relatively little of this work has ever been published, and much of the documentation and the finds are seemingly now lost.[71] Nevertheless, the cemetery appears to have consisted of numerous types of graves ranging in date from the 4th century BC until the early Middle Ages. Several cremation groups were found by the Italian Mission, as were inhumations of a number of different types – simple burials, *tomba a cappucina*, and stone-lined tombs.[72] Masonry tomb structures also stood at various points in the necropolis. The remains of some of these are visible today on both sides of the access road to Butrint and along the northern and southern lakeshores on the north side of the peninsula. However, in the absence of any detailed records, it is presently not possible to comment on the organisation of the cemetery or its population.

A combination of evidence gathered from field observation, geophysical prospection and excavation has progressively affirmed the existence of the cemetery on the Vrina Plain first alluded to by Luigi Maria Ugolini.[73] Probably during the 1st – and certainly during the 2nd – century AD, much of the area to the east of the aqueduct served as a burial ground. Interments may have taken place before the first phases of concentrated settlement, and the cemetery perhaps provided for all the citizens of Butrint, not just those living on the Plain. The extant remains of the Cremation tomb, a second tomb suspected from geophysics interpretations to the northeast, the Inhumation tomb and the tomb on the west flank of Kalivo are evidence of the grand burials instated over a very broad zone.

The Cremation tomb

The substantial remains of a masonry tomb can still be seen on the Vrina Plain, situated on a slight rise some 300 m to the east of the settlement nucleus (Figs 8.28 and 8.29). The ruin was first recorded by Ugolini, along with other funerary remains at 'Zara' in the late 1920s, more or less in the condition it is to be seen today.[74] The tomb survived the 1960s clearance of the Plain, and since its exposure it has been employed as a sheep pen and as shelter for shepherds on the otherwise exposed plain. A consequent and highly noticeable deterioration in the tomb's physical condition since the mid-1990s prompted a drawn, photographic and measured survey, in part as a heritage management exercise.

Fig. 8.27 Bath-house 4 seen from the east (BF)

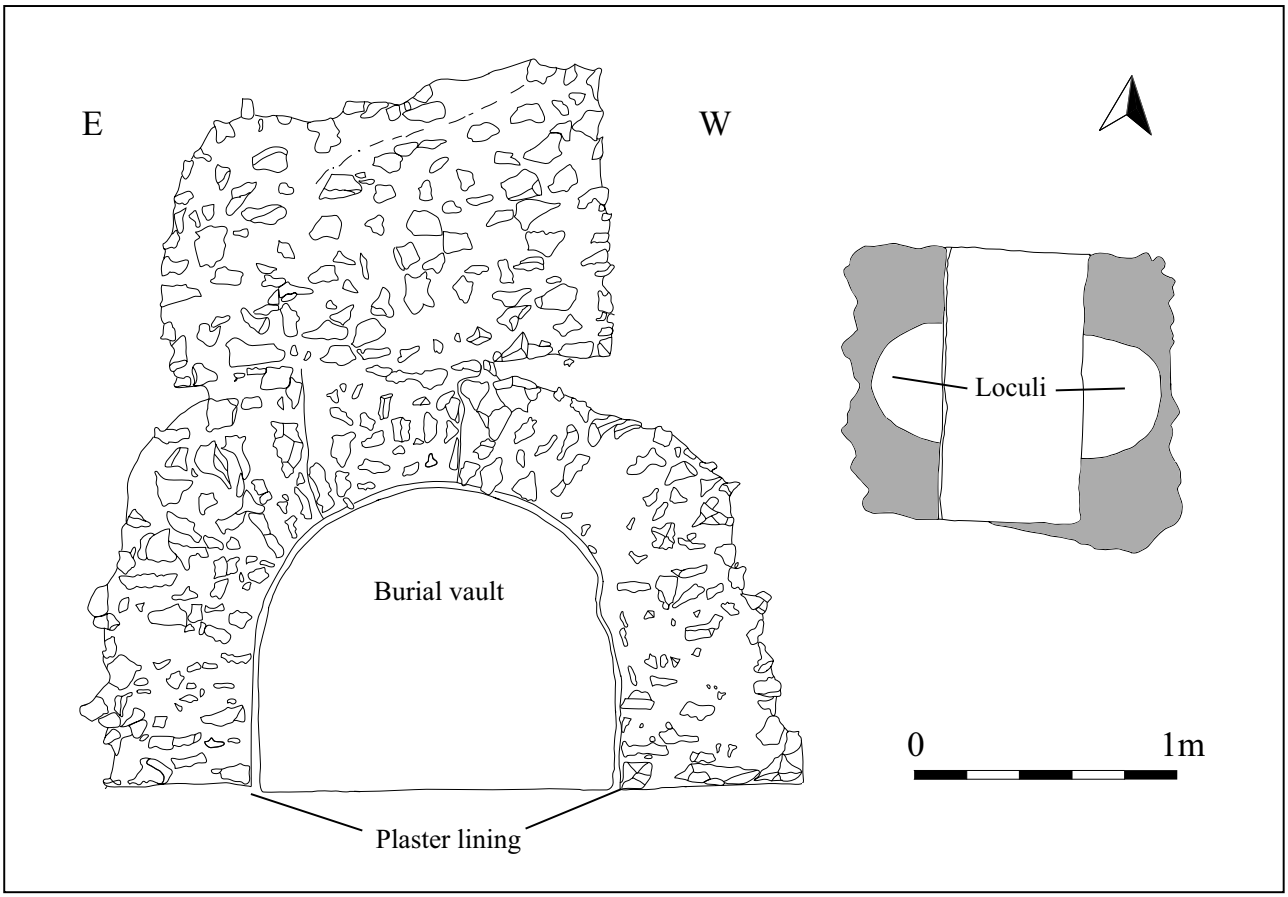


Fig. 8.28 The Cremation tomb, plan and elevation (BF)

The tomb consists of two elements: a vaulted chamber with a solid tower-like superstructure above. Any traces of facing stones, or plastered outer surfaces, have long since disappeared, and all that remains today is a remnant structure of mortared rubble. The surviving structure measures 2.85 m wide across the vault and 1.80 m along its length. The vault walls average 0.57 m in thickness and the entire lower section is 1.95 m high. Above this, the superstructure is 1.40 m in diameter and 1.24 m high; the tomb presently stands 3.19 m above ground level. Below ground, it seems to be constructed upon very shallow foundations: clearance around the base of the tomb on the western side indicates that the base of the masonry was only 0.35 m below the modern ground surface. No trace was found of a podium or more substantial foundation, although the lowest lift of masonry projects outwards some 0.14 m beyond the rest of the structure on the eastern and western sides. Examination of the masonry indicates that each lift of the poured mortared rubble core was *c.* 0.60 m high.

The tomb chamber itself is quite well preserved. This is a vaulted space 1.57 m long, 1.50 m wide and 1.06 m high. In the centre of the eastern and western walls are two semi-circular *loculi* for cinerary urns (Fig. 8.28). Each measures 0.44 × 0.43 × 0.56 m. Their bases are raised 0.15 m from the floor of the chamber. Both the northern and southern walls have been largely demolished to permit its use as a shelter, though enough remains to show that the southern wall was once continuous. The access to the tomb chamber must consequently have been from the north, that is, from the side facing the lake. The surface of the interior (the vault, the floor and the *loculi*) is entirely covered with a layer of plaster up to 20 mm thick. Limescale (*sinter*) covers much of the remaining plaster and may have contributed to its survival. This does, however, make it difficult to discern whether the interior was ever painted. There are some faint traces of a general reddish background colour, though it is impossible to determine whether this is paint or some other, natural, colouration.

Masonry cremation tombs, similar to the standing example on the Vrina Plain, and funerary chambers of brick or stone with solid superstructures, occur at a number of locations in the environs of Butrint. Some of these were originally of considerable size. One probable tomb in the marshes of the Vivari Channel consists of a podium supporting a wide arch that presumably carried a superstructure. The series of tombs along the northern

Fig. 8.29 The Cremation tomb (BF)

shore of the Butrint peninsula were also grand buildings. An almost complete example studied by the Italian Mission consisted of a large square masonry chamber with a small access way, topped by a box-like superstructure that was equipped with subsidiary chambers, perhaps for further burials or ritual offerings.[75] The shape of the superstructure of these types of cremation tombs is uncertain, but parallels from Italy suggest that they may have been modelled as column drums or funerary altars.[76]

The Inhumation tomb

To the east of the aqueduct, the geophysical surveys recorded an area virtually devoid of structural remains *c.* 50 m across.[77] Beyond this a relatively dense group of rectangular and irregular linear geophysical responses were seen to correspond on the ground with significant quantities of masonry rubble (the possible mercantile 2nd-century buildings, Fig. 8.17). Environmental reconstruction placed the contemporary shoreline a short distance to the north, and projected lines of the proposed *actus* ran northwards through the area and eastwards just to the south (cf. Fig. 7.12). The geophysical anomalies were bisected by the 1970s drainage ditch, and assessment excavation was targeted at a point where the extant remains of a substantial building were visible in the ditch-side.

It rapidly became apparent that the structure was a monumental tomb (Figs 8.30 and 8.31). It was built on a northwest to southeast alignment slightly skewed from the proposed *actus* grid (alignment 1): all of the buildings to the east of the aqueduct occupy a different alignment, more inclined to north, from those identified as the earliest structures (alignment 2).[78] The tomb would have been highly visible from the water and readily approached from its position close to a proposed roadway to the south.

The tomb was constructed upon alluvial sediment containing organic inclusions and the ghosts of other plant matter as well as tiny tile fragments and flecks of mortar or plaster. The same deposit appeared regularly in the deepest excavated areas across the assessment trenches, including to the east of the column monument (Monument 1) and beneath Bath-house 2. It is believed to be largely natural in origin, 'contaminated' with cultural debris during the early phases of construction on the plain. The activity in this area – including the building of the tomb – is dated by ceramics retrieved from the deposit to the 2nd century AD. The tomb was built on shallow mortared limestone foundations contained in narrow trenches cut through the silts. The foundations were offset no more than 0.10 m from the edge of the tomb and bear comparison with the precise footings upon which Monument 1 was built. Both these large and heavy structures, built in a likely residually wet environment, relied on very small foundations, and are clearly the design of skilful masons. Ceramics from the backfill of the foundation trenches are dated to the 1st century AD, indicating that the trenches penetrated underlying deposits containing 1st-century material, and signifying that there was some human presence in the area at this time.

On top of the footings, a podium of limestone ashlars was raised comprising three courses of well-finished squared pink and white limestone slabs 0.40 m high (Fig. 8.31). The stones were closely set (2 mm apart horizontally and 4 mm between each course), and thin (70–120 mm) (Fig. 8.30). The slabs measured typically between 0.60–0.80 m long. There was marked horizontal scoring of the mortar between courses and occasional vertical scoring between blocks. On the east and west sides the podium protruded 0.20 m from the foot of the superstructure and on the north side 0.35 m. Partly set upon the podium, the tomb superstructure required additional internal foundations of flat limestone slabs. The superstructure was composed of squared rectangular limestone blocks surviving between 4–6 courses high. These were evenly coursed and measured between 0.26–0.76 m long and between 0.13–0.25 m high. The stones were completed inside and out with a softly chiselled finish reminiscent of that seen both on the faces of the Kalivo tomb (see below) and the stonework of the *scaenae frons* in the theatre at Butrint, stylistically suggesting a

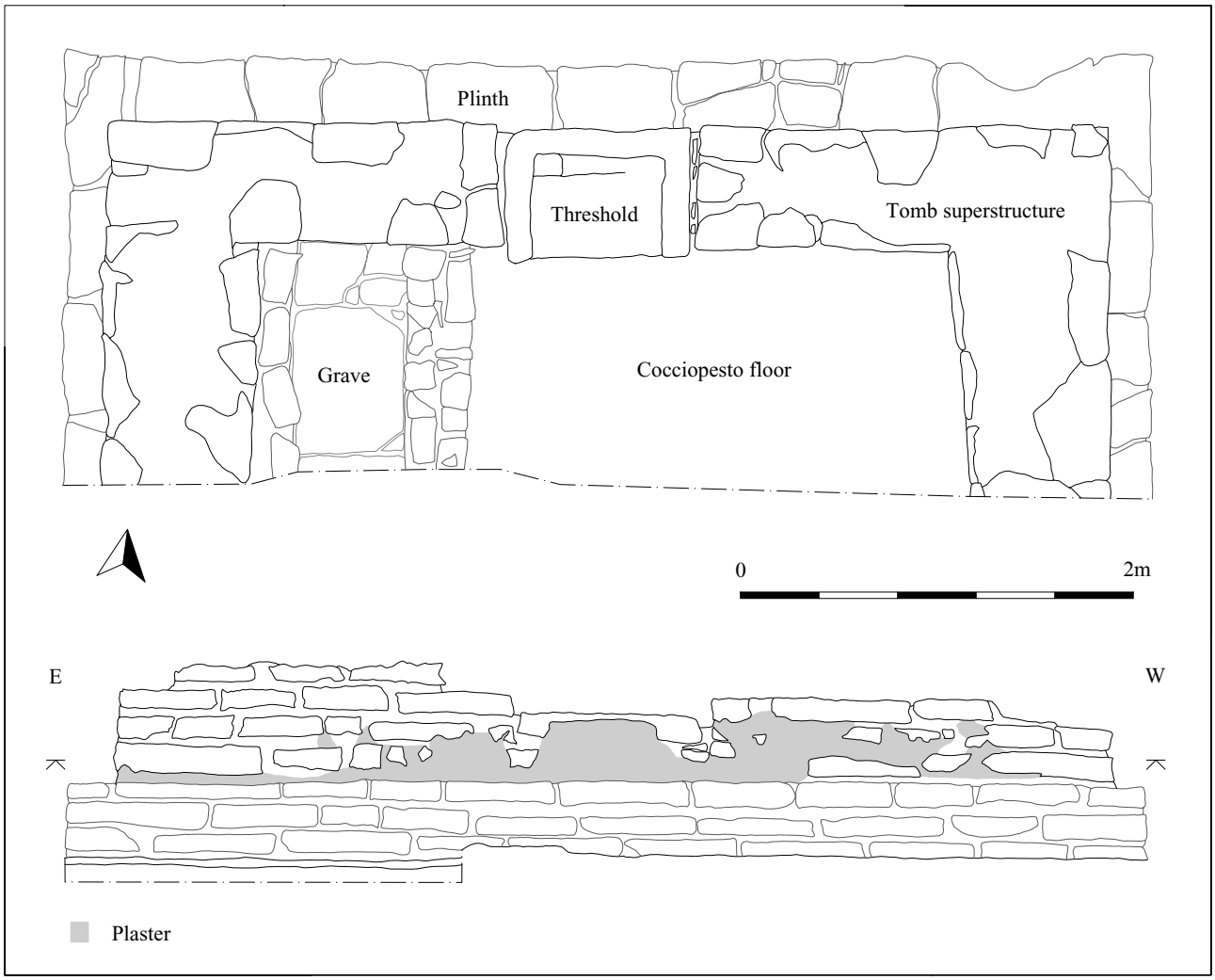


Fig. 8.30 The Inhumation tomb, plan and elevation (BF)

2nd-century AD date.[79] The building's east and west walls were 0.86 m thick and its north wall somewhat thinner measuring 0.62 m. The walls enclosed an internal space 3.41 m across and it seems most likely that the building would have been square. Taken together, the size and appearance of the podium and walls suggest that they may well have supported a very large and impressive upper structure.

Access to the tomb was via a step up from the podium through a doorway positioned in the centre of the north wall. A limestone threshold block, re-used from another building, was set in the doorway. It was expertly finished aside from its southern edge, which had been crudely chiselled to conform to the width of the wall (Fig. 8.30). Underneath, it was supported with small stones to align it with the building courses, and gaps between the threshold stone and the edge of the doorway were plugged with other small material. The threshold contained a square socket to take a door and was scored with grooves from the movement of this. Although the podium bore no signs of having been plastered, the exterior of the tomb superstructure was rendered with hard, gritty white plaster (Fig. 8.30). While externally the tomb may have appeared impressive, internally it was comparatively poorly furnished. Its floor was nothing more than a rough, thin *cocciopesto* surface. The inside of the tomb walls were plastered with a creamy white mortar. There was no indication that the walls were originally marble-clad, i.e. there were no spacer clip marks, or visible signs of damage that might be incurred during the removal of marble plaques. A single burial cist consisting of two parallel walls of rectangular tiles was built on the floor at the west side of the tomb, and it seems that most of the interior space was never used for inhumations and remained empty. The west wall survived to 0.33 m, seven courses, high, and was 0.20 m, one tile, thick. The east wall was a maximum of 0.28 m, six courses, high, and 0.34 m, up to two tiles, wide. The walls bounded a space 0.56 m across from east to west, and the grave was floored with well-finished rectangular limestone slabs flush with

Fig. 8.31 The Inhumation tomb seen from the north (BF)

the surrounding walls. No human skeletal remains were found inside the grave, and although it is believed that the tomb was later robbed, it is possible that it was never actually used for interment.

The area around the Inhumation tomb and the nearby Infant graves (see below) went out of use, or at least was allowed to accumulate rubbish, shortly after they were instated early in the 2nd century. Thereafter, a sequence of rubble deposits from the destruction of later buildings built up over the top of the podium. The debris from the reclamation of building material from the tomb, indicated by the presence of several large constructional blocks, overlay these deposits and illustrates that the tomb remained intact while destruction of other buildings – or perhaps clearance for fresh building works – was taking place nearby. Hence, it is possible that the tomb had been incorporated into the periphery of the 2nd-century buildings that later sprang up to the west. Subsequent to its use, the floor of the tomb became covered with accumulated plaster fragments and dust, as a result of wall plaster decaying and crumbling away. The absence of silting on the chamber floor indicates that the building was still structurally intact while this occurred. The subsequent silting deposit contained an assemblage of ceramics possibly dated to the 4th, but more likely the later 5th, century AD, and the presence of these sherds can be taken as an indicator of when the tomb was first broken open. It is therefore apparent that the tomb remained as a significant monument in the landscape over a relatively long period, surviving the large-scale destruction of buildings on the plain that took place in the late 2nd and early 3rd century. The evidence for robbing lies in the destruction of the tiled grave. The upper part of it had been torn down and cast on to the opposite side of the chamber. The eventual robbing of the tomb could have been a search for antiquities, it could even have been for the recovery of human bones, but in all probability it was most likely quarrying for the stone fabric of the building. This interpretation is borne out by deposits of broken masonry and mortar chipped off during stone reclamation both within and all around the outside edges of the tomb. Thereafter the tomb remained open, accumulating soils, until being briefly re-used during late antiquity.

Monumental inhumation tombs are also present in the Mount Sotirës cemetery. A tomb partly cut into the lower slopes of the hill, and cleared by the Italian Mission during the 1930s, is the most elaborate of this type excavated so far.[80] A square chamber, whose rear wall was decorated with a series of niches, contained a tripartite stone-built funerary chest for inhumations that extended around the side and rear walls of the room. Other types of substantial inhumation mausolea also exist adjacent to the so-called Lion Gate (see Fig. 1.3). One of

these was a large tomb, with numerous levels of masonry *loculi* for inhumations constructed either side of a central passage within a massive barrel-vaulted masonry chamber.[81] This tradition of construction persisted through to late antiquity, and multiple burial vaults are known, for example, from Corinth, where their appearance is dated to the second quarter of the 6th century.[82] Excavations to the east of the Lion Gate in 1994 revealed a somewhat similar building containing multiple tile and stone-built graves but of smaller dimensions.[83]

Close to the contemporary shoreline, to the north–west of Monuments 1 and 2, the truncated remains of a building built of bright orange-red bricks and limestone blocks were discovered (Fig. 8.3). Ceramics from a burnt layer beneath the building provide a *terminus post quem* of the late 1st century AD. Partly on account of its small size, this structure has been interpreted as a tomb. Although this would place a funerary monument to the west of the aqueduct – the only one recorded so far in the modern excavations on the Vrina Plain – it is possible that the tomb was located far enough away from the earliest settlement by the edge of the channel.

The Kalivo tomb

A further tomb was recorded on the western slopes of Kalivo (Figs 8.32 and 8.33). Part of this structure had originally been observed during Butrint Foundation surveys in 2001.[84] Three sides of a rectangular limestone block-built construction survive to different degrees. It is situated on an alignment that approximates to the 2nd-century AD structures on the Plain. Erosion of the hill slope had undermined the southern face of the tomb, causing it to collapse and fall away, while colluvial soils had accumulated to the north (rear) of the tomb and infilled the internal space. The intact north wall of the structure measures 3.76 m across – a similar dimension to that of the monumental tomb discovered in the Vrina Plain excavation – while the remnant east wall is 2.20 m long and the west wall 1.83 m. The building survives to a maximum height of 1.20 m in the northeast corner and along the east side, and the walls are up to 0.45 m thick.

The Kalivo tomb is constructed of precisely cut rectangular blocks set in predominantly regular header–stretcher courses and bonded in grey–white mortar. The mortar is pointed with lines scored between each stone. The stones themselves measure a maximum of 0.70 × 0.20 × 0.10 m and are all delicately chisel finished. This is reminiscent of the finish of the stones of the Inhumation tomb, and may suggest a similar 2nd-century date. Eight courses up from floor level, a ledge or recess 0.10 m high

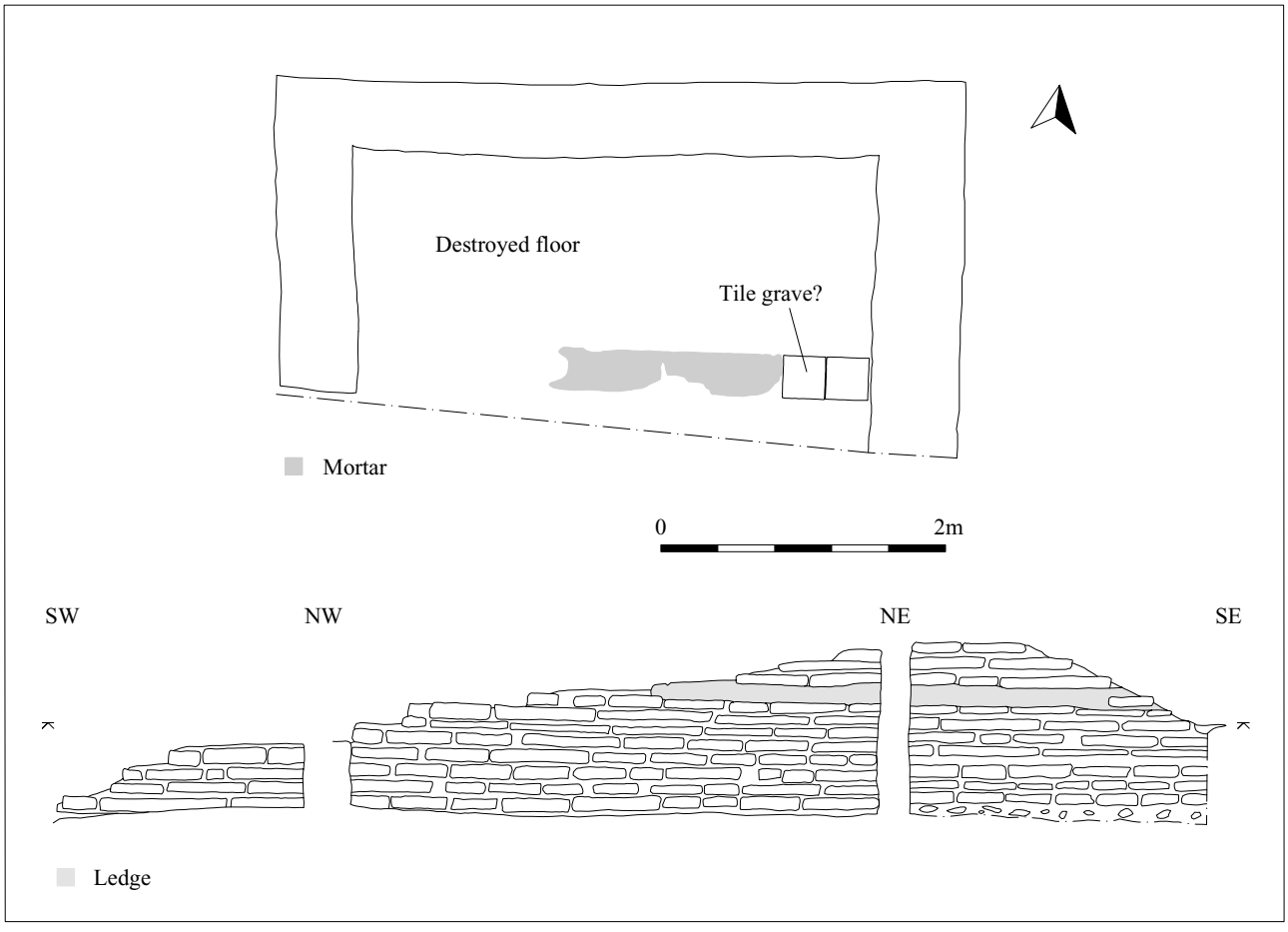


Fig. 8.32 The Kalivo tomb, plan and elevation (BF)

× 0.10 m deep is incorporated into the masonry. Interpretation of this feature is obscure, but it may have simply served as a shelf or perhaps taken stone slabs or timbers to seal interments as has been observed in a recently studied tomb by the Vivari Channel. A section of loose rubble foundation, cut through the rocky soil of the hillside, was exposed at the base of the east wall but was not excavated further. There was no indication that the tomb was built on a podium or other more substantial foundation. Inside, the tomb's floor had been either entirely robbed out or eroded away. A line of ceramic tiles had once extended westwards from the foot of the east wall, parallel with the north wall. Two mortar-set tiles measuring 0.27 m^2 survived and the mortar ghost of others, now lost, were traced over a distance of 2 m. The tiles may once have formed part of a grave in the same manner as that recorded inside the Inhumation tomb. Ceramics of possible 4th-century date were retrieved from the colluvial fill within the tomb, but at best these date the natural infilling of the ruined structure and not the period of its construction or use.

It is possible that the Kalivo tomb was originally part of the mixed cemetery that extended across the north-eastern part of the Vrina Plain, seizing the comparative elevation of the hillside to achieve more dramatic display. The resemblances between the Kalivo tomb and its counterpart, the Inhumation tomb, are striking, and in the light of the late 3rd-century collapse of settlement on the Plain, a suggestion of a 2nd-century date for the Kalivo tomb is compelling.

The Infant graves

Situated 1.20 m west of the inhumation tomb on the Vrina Plain described above, a small (0.80 × 0.45 × 0.25 m) tile-lined and -covered grave, aligned approximately from northwest to southeast, was cut through the alluvial sediments (Fig. 8.17). Only three or four bones belonging to an infant inhumation were found close to the base of the grave. The grave lining was formed by pairs of large curving ceramic roof tiles, with smaller tile fragments bounding the north and south ends, set in the manner of a grave *a cappucino*. Ceramics from the grave fill and adjacent deposits indicate that the burial was inserted in the late 1st or early 2nd century. The date attributed to the infant grave is in keeping with the early 2nd-century date established for the nearby tomb, but it is unlikely, in spite of its proximity, that the impoverished tile burial is directly associated with the grand tomb. Babies were exempt from without walls burial laws and it is not impossible that the grave dates from a time after dwellings had expanded eastwards beyond the line of the aqueduct.

This was almost certainly the circumstance with a second infant grave discovered a further 14 m to the

Fig. 8.33 The Kalivo tomb seen from the south (BF)

west: it was set in a confined space between existing buildings and masonry, and was perhaps associated with construction of a short wall (Fig. 8.17). The grave measured only 0.50 × 0.37 × 0.23 m and was aligned approximately northwest to southeast. It was covered by just three tiles: floor tiles were set on each of the southern and eastern sides and supported a curved roof tile that spanned the grave from the west side. Only five tiny bones were recovered from the grave, indicating that the skeleton was that of an infant or neo-natal baby. At the time the burial was inserted, an early *actus*-aligned wall was standing just to the east, and the 2nd-century buildings to the west were still in use. A wall was constructed between these structures when the infant was interred, and the adjoining stratigraphy indicates that the two events occurred contemporaneously. It seems likely, then, that the wall was built specifically to enclose the grave, shutting it off from the surrounding areas. The notion of the *actus*-aligned wall serving as the western boundary for the cemetery is not necessarily compromised by the later interment of a baby.

Post-cemetery changes

Following the decline of the Vrina settlement during the 3rd century AD, former land divisions were no longer respected. This is particularly clear in regard to the redundant role of the cemetery. Where once the spaces occupied by those still living and those now dead had been clearly divided, the choice of burial sites became less restricted. From this time onwards, individual inhumations were stationed in isolation, frequently inside the walls or shells of earlier buildings that may have effectively served as private mausolea. Further burials should be anticipated within the lower archaeological horizons across much of the area to the east of the aqueduct.

Trenches for the footings of later buildings, as well as the robbing and almost certainly deliberate clearance of parts of the Vrina Plain cemetery, may well have disturbed tombs and graves. The status and the boundaries of the cemetery were evidently disrespected from quite an early date, a notable exception being the monumental tomb. The reuse of cemetery furniture demonstrates the disruption to the cemetery. This is particularly evident in the inclusion of fragmentary inscribed marble tomb markers in floor surfaces at two disparate locations.

Funerary text reused in the 2nd-century buildings (EB)
As early as the 2nd century, the range of buildings to the west of the inhumation tomb was being refurbished. A new and well prepared floor, consisting of reused tile fragments, included a broken piece of a commemorative tomb marker (SF 0277; 37× 34.5 × 2 cm) (Fig. 8.34).

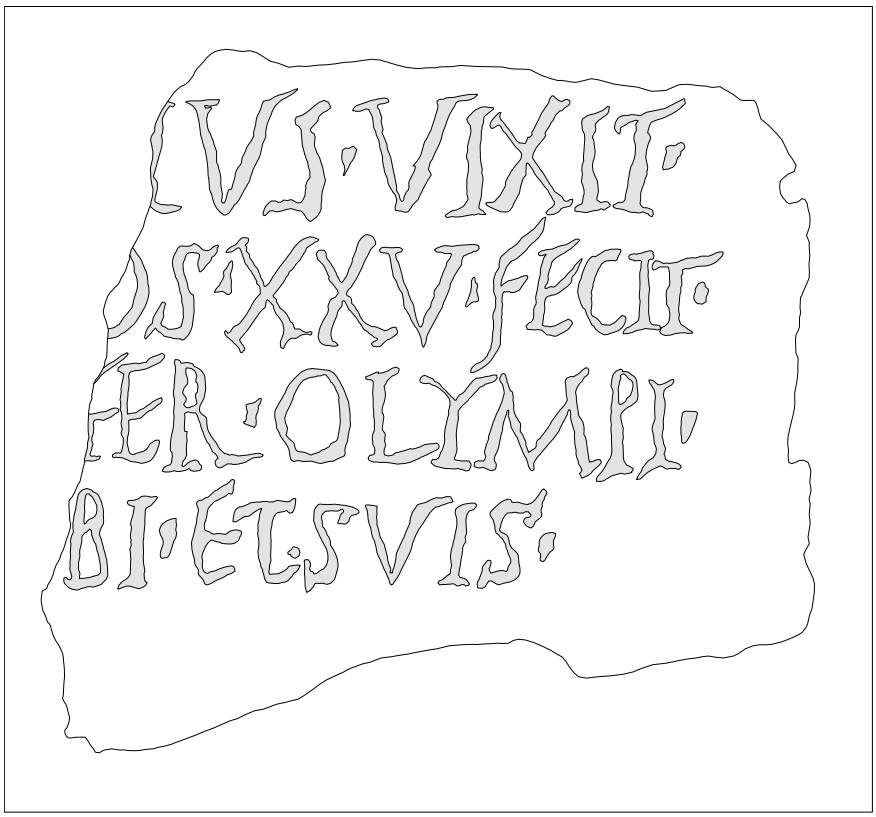


Fig. 8.34 Funerary inscription reused in the 2nd-century buildings (BF)

[--------]IVS · VIXIT
[ANN]OS · XXV · FECIT ·
[-----]FER · OLYMPI ·
[SI]BI · ET · SVIS ·

('----ius lived for twenty-five years, ----fer ? son of Olympus made this (tomb) for himself and his')

The text is damaged in all four sides; it is possible, however, that the first and last lines preserved mark the beginning and end of the text. Certain restorations have been marked, but there is no way of certainly establishing the line length. The first line preserves the end of the name of the deceased, probably –ius, but –tus is also possible; his age at death follows (both this and the formula of the last line are widely paralleled in funerary texts). The third line is more problematic: the letter before ER looks as though it ought to be another 'E', but –eer gives no known Greek or Latin word or name. Other possible readings of the damaged first letter are 'C', 'F', and 'T': -cer, -fer and –ter are all common name endings, many of them found as servile *cognomina*.[85] On balance, –fer is probably more likely. That the name is Greek in origin is suggested by 'Olympi', which is probably the genitive singular of the Greek name Olympus, which is attested across the Empire, although not common.[86] Therefore, the third line can tentatively be reconstructed as –fer, son of Olympus – or slave/freedman of Olympus? – as the subject of 'fecit'; although, it is of course possible that –ius from line 1 is the subject of both 'uixit' and 'fecit', in which case the nominative –fer and the genitive Olympus would be left hanging.[87] On this reading of the text, -fer son of Olympus would be the heir of –ius, and would have constructed the tomb both for him, for himself and for his descendents and *familia*. The letter-forms suggest a date in the 2nd or 3rd century AD.

Funerary text re-used in Bath-house 2 (EB)

Subsequent to its 2nd-century desertion and collapse, Bath-house 2 was in part reoccupied during the 4th century. A floor comprised of reused floor tiles included a marble funerary inscription (SF 2900; 16.5 × 13 × 2 cm) (Fig. 8.35).

L. PATVLCIV[S ----------]
VIXIT [----------]
ONOMM[ASTVS]
SIBI · POS[VIT]
PXI · [---]

('L. Patulcius / lived [?? years] / Onommastus / set this up for himself / 11 feet')

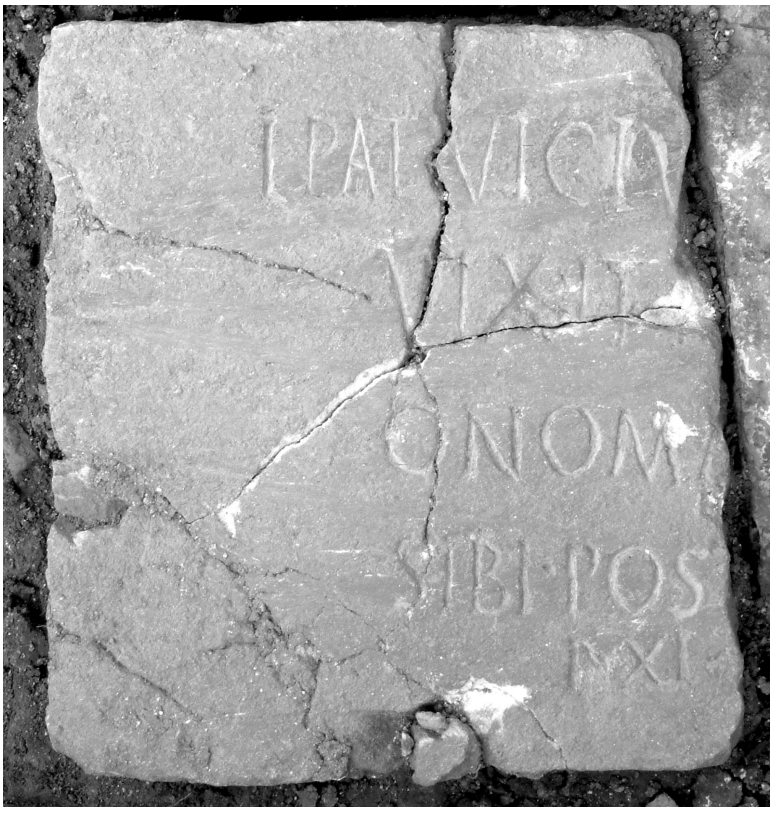


Fig. 8.35 Funerary inscription reused in Bath-house 2 (BF)

In this funerary text the left, top and bottom edges as preserved are almost certainly those of the original stone; the text has, however, been truncated on the right-hand side, leading to the loss of the perhaps as much as half the text, including probably Patulcius' father's name, and his age at death. The text seems to be carefully disposed on the stone around a central axis.

The *nomen* reads as if it is Patuicius, but give the very brief horizontal *hasta* of the *praenomen* (which must be 'L', the fifth letter of the *nomen* can be assumed to be 'L' too). The name is quite rare, and only one example is listed in *CIL* III.[88] It is probably a Campanian name, with other examples in *CIL* from Naples, Misenum, Tarracina and Caralis.[89] Outside Campania the name is found at Aeclanum, Rome, Sutrium and Caere.[90] More recent discoveries tend to confirm the Campanian origin of the name: the Murecine tablets from Pompeii disclose several.[91] Note also *AE* 1980.254 (Herculaneum), and – from outside Campania – *AE* 1988.391 (Aeclanum), *AE* 2000.372 (Scolacium), *AE* 1980.521 (Thermae, Sicily), *AE* 1965.262 (Baetica); and finally *AE* 1978.367 (Patolcius). The latter is a republican text from Cremona, perhaps suggestive of an Etruscan origin behind the Campanian core. The presence of this name here is unexpected and noteworthy.

As in the previous example, it seems that the constructor of the tomb is not the deceased, but the heir, Onomm[astus] (or perhaps Onoma[stus], the final letter is damaged), who also intends to be buried in the same place. The text does not allow us to know whether he intended his dependents to share the tomb as well. Onomastus, and the female equivalent Onomaste, are not very common: in Greek contexts it is found in inscriptions, literary sources and papyri.[92] Examples are known from Euboia, Thasos and especially Rhodes; Athens; Sicily; Megara and Thessaly.[93] In Roman contexts most instances denote servile status or origins.[94] Other attestations: *CIL* III.14821 (Salonae), *AE* 1992.622 (Mutina), *AE* 1994.370 (Ficulea); cf. *AE* 1985.260, Onomastenus (Ostia). Onomastus might be a freedman of Patulcius.

The final line preserves part of the dimensions of the plot on which the tomb stood: 11 Roman feet, probably a measure of depth from the road, but possibly width of frontage along the road (normally both measurements are specified, with only one surviving here). The text, on the basis of the letter-forms, is earlier than the one above, and may even be 1st century AD.

Discussion

The array of tombs recorded in the Vrina Plain cemetery, including that on the flank of Kalivo, fit well into the known assemblage of mausolea associated with Roman Butrint. Fragments of monumental masonry tombs and brick-built cists are visible on either side of the strip of land linking Butrint and Mount Sotirës, and it is apparent that the funerary landscape consisted of simple inhumation and cremation burials, punctuated by masonry tombs. The form of the latter is not always clear, though the vestiges of solid foundations and superstructures containing burial chambers accessed through small portals suggest a certain monumentality.

A number of outside influences can be traced in early funerary architecture in Albania. It is evident that the concept of the monumental tomb has close affinities with examples from Macedonia. Neritan Ceka has noted the strong connection between pre-Roman earlier masonry tombs and the Macedonian tradition.[95] This type was identified by Léon Heuzey in the 19th century, and comprises a vaulted burial chamber fronted by a *pronaos* or narthex. The finished structure has the appearance of a temple, although the burial chambers and structures in general tend to be rather small.[96] The masonry construction is generally sealed beneath a tumulus or built as a part subterranean chamber. While the most dramatic examples come from Macedonia, especially the well-publicised finds from Vergina, the type has a wide geographic spread; substantial examples are known also from Leucas while a variant type with a monumental entrance and a simple stepped dromos, covered by a small mound, has been recently uncovered in the Drinos valley.[97] No tumuli or fully subterranean tombs have been found at Butrint, though some semi-subterranean tombs exist. Other types of Hellenistic monumental tombs, in the form of massive stone cists or sarcophagi, are present in the necropolis of all the major classical cities in Albania, including Butrint. At Apollonia these are clearly associated with the tumulus cemeteries around the city, though variants also occur in the south, for example at Phoenicê and Çuka e Aitoit; the type remained popular through the Roman period.[98]

Local developments of this monumental tradition resulted in what Ceka categorised as the 'Vlora type' of tomb. This was a small, sometimes brick-built, burial chamber, perhaps partly below ground and with a vaulted roof.[99] However, it is now clear that this style of tomb architecture is far more widespread in Albania than just the Vlora region, with examples recognised from a number of sites in the central-southern part of the country including Apollonia.[100] Numerous similar structures are to be seen in the graves and mausolea excavated in the 1930s around the Lion Gate at Butrint.[101] Some of these were arranged in tiers, one burial above another, though access was only from the top. Others comprise simple chambers with a small sealed hatch or door facing onto a funerary plot or roadway. A few tombs of this type were elaborated with a superstructure. One of the tombs in the Durrës necropolis, for example, preserved evidence of some form of solid superstructure above its vaulted burial chamber.[102] A tomb excavated recently at Rrogozhina, south of Kavajë, presents a series of interesting features. The small vaulted burial chamber was part underground and was accessed via a narrow *dromos* that led to a single stone door. Buttresses on either side of the tomb at the

doorway may have been structural in intent, but are just as likely to have supported a form of false front, thereby lending an otherwise modest tomb an impression of monumentality.[103] The cremation tomb on the Vrina Plain follows this tradition of masonry tombs with small vaulted sepulchral chambers.

Larger masonry mausolea are also present in the Butrint cemeteries. Along the Vivari Channel and shores of Lake Butrint are well preserved remains of tower tombs similar to the Inhumation tomb found on the Vrina Plain, though cremation burial appears to have been practised alongside and simultaneously to inhumation.[104] Some of these masonry structures show clear traces of two stories, suggesting perhaps the presence of a funerary chamber below and cult room above, while a number contain a semi-subterranean chamber with a small access hatch and solid superstructures. A particularly well preserved example of a cremation tomb of the 2nd century AD of this latter type was recorded by the Italian Mission of the 1920s and 30s on the lakeshore, while on the slopes of the hill above an elaborate and partially rock-cut tomb, of the 2nd to 3rd century AD, was equipped with decorative niches and stone cists arranged in the form of a tripartite dining couch.[105]

This is the largest assemblage of masonry mausolea so far known from Albania, and most seem to date from the period of growth of the Vrina Plain settlement in the later 1st and 2nd century AD. While a full study of the cemetery remains to be undertaken the characteristics of many of these masonry graves and tombs point to the fusion of a number of traditions. The 'Vlora' type tombs are obviously more widespread than Ceka suggested and while probably a development of local traditions they have certain affinities with similar uncomplicated tombs from the west.[106] The larger tombs have Italian parallels: the cemetery outside the Stabian gate at Pompeii, for example, includes structures of similar scale and design.[107] Even at this early stage in the study of the Butrint cemeteries it is clear that much of the inspiration and ritual for the graves comes from outside Butrint.

Later Roman occupation

Introduction

The archaeological field surveys of 1995–96 highlighted a decline in the number of later Roman 'sites' in comparison to the number of find spots dated to the earlier Roman periods; this was to be borne out by the 2002–3 work.[108] It is evident that the beginning of the 4th century saw a very different type of settlement on the Vrina Plain from that which had flourished during the 2nd and earlier 3rd century. While there is some evidence for the renewed development of properties, the overall impression is one of opportunism, rather than refined living: parts of vacant or ruinous structures were taken over, occupied and reused. Indeed, most of the evidence for reuse is seen in the form of new floors laid inside individual rooms of demolished building complexes. This is in stark contrast to the accruing wealth and building expansion characterising Butrint during the later 3rd and 4th century.[109] It may even be that the Vrina Plain settlement now provided a ready source of building material to fuel the construction boom in Butrint.

East of the aqueduct

Fourth-century re-occupation

Bath-house 2, at the extreme eastern end of the archaeological assessment area (Fig. 8.3), was both built and dismantled during the 2nd century. Whereas most of the building remained under the mass of rubble and mortar resulting from its demolition, a single room, 4 m wide and situated on the south side of the bath-house, was later cleared and reoccupied. While it is certain that the refurbished room could not have been used as a bath-house, there is no evidence to indicate what new function it may have been served. The damaged tiled floor of another of the rooms in the former bath complex was covered with a deposit of compacted clay containing limestone chips and fragments of building material. In all likelihood, the shell of the room was cleared down to this level to permit the laying of a new surface, with the deposit acting as a convenient bedding or floor foundation. It was set with an assortment of tile types and fragments, predominantly reused broken floor tiles (some clearly from the earlier bath building) along with a few curved roof tile pieces. These were all positioned very close together. The fragmentary inscribed marble tomb marker, described above, was incorporated in the surface close to the room's western wall. Ceramic sherds were also pressed into the top of the clay; these are exclusively of 4th-century date, providing a *post quem* date for the laying of the floor.

The rooms in the partly excavated 2nd-century building complex were also reused during the 4th century. These buildings must have survived better than those of the outlying villa and Bath-house 2; two adjacent rooms, which had not been occupied since the late 2nd or early 3rd century, were refurbished with new floor surfaces. In the 3 m wide western room, a layer of compacted silt containing grit, limestone chips and small mortar fragments probably served as a beaten earth floor. A large quantity of 4th-century pottery was found against one of the room walls, but it is not certain whether this represents storage of vessels or simply broken pots swept into the corner of the room.[110] At the same time, the larger (5 m wide) room to the east was set with a sequence of re-laid and patched floors. Irregular and roughly laid reused floor and roof tile fragments were set in a mixture of mortar and silt up to 0.20 m deep. The depth of the tile deposits suggests that new surfaces, in part or in whole, were regularly laid down as the preceding surface became unserviceable. The greater need to maintain surfaces in

this room may reflect its use as a dwelling space. Reuse of the western room did not last long and it was abandoned once and for all some little time later in the 4th century. Its dilapidation and/or the demolition of its walls were marked by the accumulation of many large limestone blocks, tile pieces and crushed mortar. The room to the east, however, apparently remained open or in use for a longer period. Demolition horizons overlying the patched floors are dated to the early–mid 5th century, when the remaining walls were either torn down or collapsed inwards.

Later 5th- or 6th-century floors

Subsequent to the robbing of the monumental Inhumation tomb in the later 5th century, the open shell of the building accumulated in-washed and dumped deposits. At some point thereafter, the remnant structure was reused, although the nature of this later occupation is unclear. A surface of limestone blocks and slabs was set inside the tomb east of a line drawn from the eastern edge of the threshold and at the same height as the threshold. In the centre of the room, in front of the doorway, there was no evidence of flooring at all, with only compacted clay exposed. West of the doorway, the surface consisted of small square tiles. The limestone slabs were somewhat irregular in shape and size, but were packed relatively close together, ran up to the edges of the walls and presented flat faces uppermost. It is most likely that they were gathered from fallen walls nearby, although they did not resemble the blocks of the tomb superstructure. There was no trace of post settings in the reduced tomb wall masonry that might have supported a roof or shelter over the surface. A second late floor, or possibly a series of re-laid or repaired surfaces, was identified abutting the western exterior of the tomb. It resembled a jigsaw, comprising a mixture of reused square floor tiles and large, flat-faced rectangular limestone slabs with smaller tile and stone fragments set in the gaps in-between. The surface was bonded in clay, and although some of the tiles had mortar adhering to their lower surfaces, this belonged to their original use. The floor was severely cut away by 1970s machining of the drainage ditch, and as a consequence extended for only *c*. 0.90 × 2.10 m before petering out to rubble further west. The floor was used during a period post-dating the robbing of the tomb masonry and is more likely a feature of late antiquity than of the Middle Ages, perhaps even contemporary with the limestone block floor inside the tomb. A hard-mortared deposit of masonry chunks mixed with some soil was found collapsed on top of the floor close to the tomb, and this may represent a late antique attempt to 'rebuild'. The rubble to the west of the surface may also represent a crude low wall, built to oppose the tomb wall and carry wattles. This phenomenon has been recorded frequently in the late antique buildings in Butrint where existing spaces and structures were repeatedly adapted and modified.

West of the aqueduct

West of the line of the aqueduct evidence of activity during late antiquity was limited, but some structural remains were located. The vicinity of the slightly raised area around Bath-house 1 seems to have been considered more attractive or suitable for settlement.

The late antique kiln

A kiln was cut into the abandonment layers of the northernmost room of Bath-house 1. It was broadly rectangular and lined with clay; it was partly constructed of tiles, many of which were fused and vitrified. The structure contained a number of internal flues, but since it was only exposed in part, its precise function and form remains uncertain.

Sixth-century timber structure

Bath-house 3 was robbed out, reduced and exposed down to sub-floor level in the 6th century. This obliteration of any standing elements may have been part of a planned re-occupation. A series of substantial post-holes were cut through the bath-house masonry and formed what may have been a timber structure, approximately 4 m^2, focused over the former principal heated room. Although no pottery was recovered from any of the post-holes, they were sealed by a deposit containing ceramics dated to 525–50. The two post-holes that made up the eastern side of this possible structure were cut through the drain that formerly divided the hot plunge bath at the eastern end of the bath-house from the heated room to its west. One of these was 0.50 m deep and evidently intended to take a very substantial upright. In the southwest corner of the structure, an even larger post-hole, 0.67m deep, was cut through the bath-house sub-floor. Directly north of this, a fourth post-hole completed the western side of the timber structure. On the north side, a further two large-sized post-holes, cut against the southern edge of the wall that formed the north side of the heated room, completed the outline of the timber structure. All of the features were filled with grey silts and sands, with no evidence that the posts had remained and decayed *in situ*.

Excavations at the Triconch Palace have revealed numerous substantial post-built structures dated to late antiquity and the medieval period. The 6th-century structure occupying Bath-house 3 can be seen to follow similar construction principles: stripped down Roman buildings were utilised through a combination of posts set into reduced wall tops or through masonry re-builds. Timber framed walls were clad with pisé, and it seems likely that the clay deposit found overlying the bath-house sub-floor and post-holes was at least in part derived from the disintegration of organic late antique walls. A small amount of medieval pottery from the top of the deposit is insufficient to argue for renewed occupation at this time. Perhaps of more interest, 1 m or more of sterile coarse grey silt had accumulated over the bath-house since

medieval times, developing with the accretion of marsh deposits up until the 20th-century drainage projects.

As a result of excavation in 2004, this timber structure, Bath-house 4 and its associated buildings (see above), can all now be seen to belong to a settlement formed in the 5th and 6th century. This centred on a substantial three-aisled basilica that was constructed north–south over the ruins of the Apsidal hall, which became an east–west oriented narthex. Such redevelopment of a former luxury residential site is paralleled at neighbouring Diaporit where a small Early Christian monastery was built adjacent to the ruins of a lake-shore villa at the end of the 5th century.[111] Excavations of the Vrina Plain basilica remain to be completed, but it is apparent that this church formed the focus of renewed settlement in the ruins of the cityscape.

Notes

1 Pouqueville (1827: 38) on his discovery of the remains of the aqueduct on the Vrina Plain marsh.
2 For a more complete topographical and geomorphological discussion, see Bescoby in this volume and Lane *et al.* 2004.
3 For the Smyth 1825 survey, see chart of the Channels of Corfu with the adjacent coast of Albania, 10 June 1825.
4 For Mansell, see the UK Hydrographic Centre, Taunton: D6641.
5 View from Mount Sotirës: Bridgeman Art Library, Yale University; view from Korafi Hills: YBA 162462.
6 For a photograph showing the Vrina Plain as low hills and knolls with a fringe of reeds facing the Vivari Channel, see Ugolini 1937: fig. 4. See also Ugolini 1942: 12–33, esp. 19, and 46, for a description of the area.
7 The single most spectacular find made on the Vrina Plain, a marble relief of Nike, was a casual discovery made by one of the workmen; Ugolini 1937: 127–30; 1942: 169–72. For this relief, see also Fig. 4.10 in this volume.
8 Durrell 1959: 178.
9 DR, Crown Copyright – Ministry of Defence Air Force Department photograph GB 0172 APA PRJB 4095–4099, 4104–4108, Air Photo Library, Department of Geography, University of Keele.
10 Budina 1971.
11 Pluciennik *et al.* 2004.
12 Kavaja and Vinçani 1995.
13 Bescoby 2003: 56–70; Croston and Hounslow 2004; and, in particular, Bescoby in this volume.
14 The Vrina Plain excavations were directed overall by Richard Hodges (Butrint Foundation) in collaboration with Shpresa Gjongecaj (Albanian Institute of Archaeology). The excavations in the drainage ditch were directed by Andrew Crowson (Institute of World Archaeology), Saimir Shpusa (Albanian Institute of Archaeology) and Ryan Ricciardi (University of Cincinnati). The student training excavations were directed by Oliver Gilkes (Institute of World Archaeology) with Sindorella Golëmi (Albanian Institute of Archaeology). Among the sizeable team taking part in the excavations, we would wish to thank: Ermal Baze, Simon Greenslade, Albana Hakani, Benen Hayden, David Hernandez, Sarah Leppard, Nevila Molla, Erijona Quilla, Riley Thorne, and Hilmi Velagoshti, all of whom worked on and supervised various sectors of the excavations. Much thanks is also due to Paul Reynolds who analysed the ceramic material.
15 This trench not only helped to evaluate the assessment, but also served as an archaeological training excavation for students from the Albanian universities of Elbasan, Gjirokastra and Tirana.
16 See also Bescoby in this volume.
17 See Ricciardi in this volume.
18 See Bowden in this volume.
19 Bowden and Përzhita 2004: 424–5.
20 Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002: 215; Bowden and Përzhita 2004: 425.
21 See, for instance, Martin 2004: 88–89.
22 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: nos. 1381, 1388 and 1400, 1402, 1404–5, 1407, 1409; Ugolini 1942: 46 and 239.
23 See Budina 1967 for the results of a survey and appraisal of the aqueduct.
24 See Çondi 1999–2000.
25 Bescoby 2003 and in this volume.
26 See also Bescoby in this volume.
27 See Bescoby in this volume.
28 See Dilke 1971 for a complete introduction to Roman land surveying.
29 Romano 2003: 294.
30 Romano 2003: 285.
31 Bescoby 2003: 59–63 and in this volume.
32 Dilke 1971: 159–77. Cf. also the different centuriation systems at Corinth, Romano 2003: 293–8.
33 Stein 2001; Wiseman 2001; see also the discussion of the urban layout in Bowden in this volume.
34 Preliminary results are presented by Bescoby in this volume.
35 Çondi 1988.
36 Human bones were found in the backfill from the 1980s excavation, and it is possible that the structure at some point had funerary uses. Should the skeletal material be contemporary with the construction of the temple, the boxes could then represent cists for coffin burials.
37 Vitruvius *De Architectura* 4.4.1.
38 Both the temple above the theatre at Butrint and the so-called Thesauròs at Phoenicê are simple prostyle temples. For Phoenicê see De Maria 2002 and Zaccaria 2003; for an overview of Hellenistic architecture in Epirus, see Mertens 1985.
39 Çondi 1988; and Koch 1988: 255 for a summary description of the funerary material. For an Attic sarcophagus found on the Vrina Plain, see Koch 1988: 250, no. 29, pl. 100,6; Ugolini 1927: 155–7, fig 109.
40 Cf. Koch 1988: 235.
41 Koch 1988: table 1, and p 248–50 for examples from Butrint; Koch 1989: 157.
42 See also Çondi 1988: pl. 32.2.
43 Cf. Fittschen and Zanker 1985: 70–4, nos. 65–67.
44 Çondi 1988: pl. 32.4.
45 Koch 1988: 255.
46 See, for instance, the sarcophagi in the British Museum (GR 1805.7–3.154) and at Villa Doria Pamphili; Grassinger 1999 cat. 13 and 18.
47 See, for instance, the central group of the sarcophagus

from Thessalonika now in the Louvre (MA 2119), a. 180 AD; Baratte and Metzger 1985: 256–61, cat. 166.
48 Çondi 1988: pl. 32.5.
49 Normally decorative bands are used as terminate borders at the top of the sarcophagus itself, rather than at the base of the lid. However, see Rogge 1995: pls 1.1; 52.1 and 88.4 and Koch and Sichtermann 1982 fig. 562 for examples – all on sarcophagi from Tyros.
50 Rome, Musei Capitolini; Attic kline sarcophagus with Achilles on Skyros: Rogge 1995: 136–8 cat. 24, *c*. mid-3rd century AD. Beirut, National Museum; strigilated kline sarcophagus from Tyros: Koch and Sichtermann 1982: 448, fig 478, associated with types of around 230 AD.
51 Çondi 1988: pl. 32.1.
52 Çondi 1988: pl. 32.3.
53 Cf. the garland sarcophagus from Tyros, now in Beirut, with standing Parthians at the corners; Koch and Sichtermann 1982: fig. 471.
54 Koch 2000, for Aire sur l'Adour sarcophagus see p. 478, fig 135 (later Constantinian, 312–340 AD); for examples of Christ, see p. 298–306, figs. 73, 75, 80/81 (Valentinian-Theodosian).
55 For a discussion of the possible functions of the Monuments, see Ricciardi in this volume.
56 Bescoby 2003 and in this volume.
57 For the development of the Triconch Palace, see Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002: 201–9; Gilkes and Lako 2004; Hodges *et al.* 1997: 221–23.
58 Cf. Fig 7.7 building 8, and the discussion by Bescoby in this volume.
59 See also Fig. 7.12, and the discussion by Bescoby in this volume.
60 Bescoby 2003; and in this volume.
61 Bescoby 2003; and in the volume.
62 Cf. Yegül 1992: 382–3.
63 Yegül 1992: 363.
64 See Bescoby in this volume for an interpretation of this building based the geophysical results.
65 See Gilkes and Lako 2004 for a discussion of the Triconch Palace.
66 Harrison 1986: 15–19 figs. E–G; Ward-Perkins 1994: 326. Also, the brickwork of demonstrably later structures in the Triconch Palace in Butrint is of this type. For another view, see Mango 1978: 10.
67 See Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002: 215.
68 Bowden and Përzhita 2004: 428.
69 The building was largely excavated by the Albanian Institute of Archaeology in a campaign separate to the Butrint Foundation assessment.
70 Çondi 1988: 246–7.
71 Some reference can be found in Ugolini 1937: 174, and 1942: 147–63.
72 Ugolini 1942: 147–63.
73 Ugolini 1942: 19, 143.
74 Ugolini 1927: 157. He recorded that local opinion held that it was the base of a ruined windmill, an interesting contrast to the modern thoughts of local shepherds that it was a 'bunker': one of the concrete machine-gun positions that litter Albania.
75 Ugolini 1942: 147–8 and tav. 21.
76 Toynbee 1971: 123, 127; von Hesberg 1994: 197–209.
77 Bescoby 2003, and in this volume.
78 See above and the discussion in Bescoby in this volume.
79 Wilkes 2003: 150–8.
80 See above note 71.
81 Ugolini 1937: 158–9.
82 Ivison 1996: 105–8.
83 Bowden and Martin 2004: 221–3.
84 Crowson 2005.
85 See Solin (1982– vol. 3: 1041) for a list of some 49 Greek examples
86 The female equivalents, Olympis, Olympia, Olympias and Olympe, are all attested, but none of them have the termination –i.
87 For Olympus in genitive following a *nomen* in the nominative, see *CIL* III.6731: Iulia Olympi, from Citium in Cyprus.
88 *CIL* III.8039 from Dacia.
89 Cf. *CIL* X.1757, 1186, 2634, 2826–28 from Puteoli.
90 For a republican example from Aeclanum, see *CIL* IX.1140.
91 *AE* 1973.162; *AE* 1974.255, 1988.331 (two bearing the *praenomen* Lucius).
92 Fraser and Matthews 1987–, vols. 1: 3a and 3b; Foraboschi 1987: 214; Osborne and Byrne 1994; Preisigke 1922: col. 292.
93 Cf. Perin 1920: 380.
94 Solin 1982–, vol. 2: 899f. fifteen instances
95 Ceka 1975: 53.
96 Heuzey 1860.
97 Giorgi 2003: 96–97; Touratsoglou 1973. For Vergina, see Andronicos 1993.
98 Budina 1974: 235–6; Hansen, Gilkes and Crowson 2005: chapt. 10; Lepore and Gamberini 2003.
99 Ceka 1975: 44–45.
100 Mano 1971: 125–7.
101 The Italian excavations here were never published, though the archive survives in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome. For a brief note, see Ugolini 1937: 158–9.
102 Tartari 1987: 156.
103 ICAA 2000: 34–42.
104 Survey work in 2004 revealed the remains of dozens of masonry tombs along the rocky slopes of the channel side of Mount Sotirës. In one brick vaulted tomb much of the original frescoed decoration survived.
105 Mustilli 1941: 703–4; Ugolini 1937: 174–5: fig. 125 and 1942: 147–51.
106 Toynbee 1971: 101–3.
107 D'Amrosio and De Cavo 1983.
108 Pluciennik *et al.* 2004: figs. 4.10 and 4.11.
109 As already noted, this is exemplified particularly clearly in the changes to the Triconch Palace, see note 57 above.
110 See also Bescoby in this volume for evidence of industrial activity found during the geophysical survey.
111 Bowden and Përzhita 2004: 425–30.

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AE *L'Année Épigraphique*.
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinum.*
ICAA International Centre for Albanian Archaeology (see below)

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9 Two Roman Monuments: Proposals for Function and Context

Ryan Ricciardi

Introduction

During the 2002–4 excavations on the Vrina Plain, the remains of two monumental structures were discovered near the proposed intersection of two important roads and in a prominent position on a small rise close to the Vivari Channel (see Fig. 9.1).[1] During excavation, several possible interpretations for these structures have been proposed, including altars, column or statue bases, and funerary monuments. The purpose of this paper is to propose possible interpretations of these monumental structures found on the Vrina Plain and to place them within the architectural and social context of the wider Mediterranean world.

For convenience the monuments are named 1 and 2 following the order in which they were found. A detailed archaeological description is included in the contribution by Crowson and Gilkes but the salient characteristics are worth restating. The two monuments share many common points: they are square, stepped monuments roughly the same size (3.6 × 3.5 m and 3.75 × 3.5 m respectively), and both were intended as free-standing monuments constructed out of local limestone blocks, joined by iron clamps covered in lead (cf. Fig. 8.13). They were constructed in a prominent position, easily visible from the Vivari Channel and the acropolis of Butrint; furthermore, their location next to one of the north–south roads suggests that they may also have served as a visual connection at a point where the Vrina Plain settlement fronted the Vivari Channel. Both monuments seem to have been constructed deliberately to take full advantage of this elevated position and heightened visibility. It is uncertain if the two monuments existed contemporaneously; it is, however, probable that Monument 1 replaced Monument 2. The date of construction cannot be established with certainty: the modern water table is too high for foundation layers to be reached, and Monument 2 at least had been heavily robbed at some point in antiquity leaving its walls incomplete. However, ceramic finds associated with Monument 1 date to the end of the 2nd century, thus providing a possible *terminus ante quem* for the construction of that monument.[2]

The incomplete state of Monument 2 further makes it impossible establish if the two monuments were as similar in elevation as in plan, and hence if the two structures served similar functions. The circular feature of mortared stone remaining in the centre of Monument 1 indicates that it included some kind of columnar superstructure, and was designed as a freestanding column monument (see Fig. 8.16). The proximity and architectural similarities between the two structures make it tempting to imagine that Monument 2 was also fashioned in this manner; in other words, Monument 1 recreated or even replaced the form of the existing structure. With only a single course remaining of Monument 2, it is impossible to say. In fact, the inferior quality and craftsmanship (as evidenced by the irregular shape of the stones) of Monument 2 compared with Monument 1 might rather indicate that the later monument was intended as an elaboration and monumentalisation of the earlier type, and hence makes use of the column superstructure for the first time. Indeed, the similarities may be coincidental and not at all indicative of shared function. As the following discussion will show, the square, stepped plan and ashlar construction is common to a range of different monument types, and the two structures might conceivably have been constructed for entirely different motives.

At some point in perhaps the 3rd century AD – after Monument 2 had conclusively fallen out of use and its fabric had been spoliated – Monument 1 was encased on three sides by precinct walls (see Fig. 8.12). Interestingly, these walls would have blocked access to the monument from the road to the west; only the eastern side of the monument faced an open area. The construction of the precinct walls indicates the continued importance of the structure as a feature of the Vrina Plain settlement during the later Empire. Indeed, unlike monument 2, the fine

Fig. 9.1 Monuments 1 and 2 and the citadel at Butrint (BF)

materials used to construct this monument were not removed for subsequent buildings, nor was the area itself usurped by a subsequent structure. North of Monument 1 – toward the Vivari Channel and the citadel of Butrint – a series of three storage rooms were uncovered, all of which appear to have been part of the same construction as the precinct walls (Fig. 8.12).[3] It is tempting to imagine that the precinct walls were constructed to maintain the freestanding aspect of the monument.

Subsequently, an apsidal, three-aisled room was built on the western side of the storage rooms, and it has been suggested that this small structure was an early Christian church (see Fig. 8.12). At the western end of the nave was found a section of a grey marble column drum. The column measures 0.45 m in diameter and therefore is unlikely to originate from Monument 1.

Given the better state of preservation of Monument 1, in the following much of the discussion will focus on this structure, and I want to explore in turn the implications of interpreting it as an altar; a dedication to Apollo; or an honorific monument.

Altars

Altars in Roman contexts are often, although by no means exclusively, square edifices located within sanctuaries either as distinct entities or associated with larger temple complexes. These edifices appear in the archaeological record as isolated structures, frequently undecorated. Their uncomplicated construction and relatively simple appearance attests to their functionality in Roman religious rites.[4] Several pieces of evidence point to the possible interpretation of the two monuments from Butrint as monumental altars. Firstly, a layer including several ash dumps and burnings was found completely covering Monument 2. These ash dumps could be deposits from sacrifices, and hence suggest the identification of the edifice as an altar. Secondly, the structures at Butrint do not exhibit signs of extensive exterior ornamentation despite the relative prominence of their location and the quality of the masonry of Monument 1. The stone, a local limestone, although finely worked, is not the marble that would be expected for a monument of this nature in an

urban setting. This choice of material perhaps attests to the economic prosperity of the area in the 2nd century AD. Furthermore, the construction and make-up of the monument is reminiscent of altars found both in Turkey and Greece.

At Troy, Roman *Ilium*, in Turkey, a site intimately tied to the foundation legends of Butrint, one of the altar structures in the upper Sanctuary bears a striking similarity in construction to that found at Butrint (Fig. 9.2). The Sanctuary contains three altars, dated to the Archaic, Hellenistic and Roman periods respectively.[5] They are consequently situated on three different levels in a manner similar to the structures found at Butrint. The Roman altar at Troy, which was constructed out of both limestone (lower courses) and marble (upper courses) did not have a precinct wall built around it, probably because of its direct association with the so-called Temple A.[6] The Archaic and Hellenistic altars, however, were subsequently enclosed by retaining walls, similar to those that encased the later monument at Butrint. The lower courses of Monument 1, much like the Roman altar at Troy, are constructed with limestone blocks that are stepped up to the highest extant level.[7] The centre of each structure is filled with a rubble core showing similar construction techniques. The altar at Troy, however, is clearly situated within a sacred context, an attribution much less unequivocal for the area surrounding the monument at Butrint. Geographically, they are, however, similarly located atop small rises. As noted, the two Vrina Plain buildings were prominently placed, likely to be seen by those entering the colony by road or by sea, or viewed from the citadel of Butrint. Although not physically elevated like the Athenian Acropolis or the Roman Capitoline sanctuaries, their sheer visibility could suggest – as has been done for the sanctuary at Troy – that the location of these monuments created the appearance of a miniature acropolis, thus further associating Butrint with both her Greek and Roman heritage.[8]

Closer to Butrint, Nicopolis also offers a compelling piece of comparanda. There, a rectangular structure with a square projection is located just in front of the retaining wall for the podium of the Actium *tropaeum*. This structure, too, was constructed of limestone slabs stepped up to at least three levels, much like those at Butrint. Furthermore, the interior of this structure was filled with stones, roof tiles and fragments of bricks, similar to the fill of Monument 1 at Butrint. Konstantinos Zachos has interpreted this structure as part of the podium of an altar constructed sometime after the main monument.[9]

There are, however, several problems in interpreting both of the Vrina Plain structures as altars. First of all, the burned deposits were concentrated in the area of Monument 2 and were isolated to ash dumps rather than a widespread burned layer. Secondly, the concrete foundations for a column discovered in the centre of

Fig. 9.2 The Roman altar in the upper Sanctuary at Ilium *(Troy) (after Rose 1993)*

Monument 1 suggests that the square structure was meant to function as an enclosure to a primary decorative element rather than as a place for sacrifice.

Apollonian Baetyls

The columnar superstructure of Monument 1 was clearly a major element in the articulation of the monument when it was constructed, and hence must be primary to any interpretation of it. In this way it precludes an interpretation of the structure as an altar inside a sanctuary. Focusing on the column, one possible explanation for this object is as a dedication to Apollo in the form of a *baetyl*, the aniconic representation of Apollo and his cult (cf. Fig. 9.4).

Butrint may have been founded as a Corcyrean colony, and hence it is not unlikely that it would have adopted the cults of Corcyra and of Corinth. As Chryseis Tzouvara-Souli's studies have shown, the worship of Apollo was particularly prominent within the settlements of the Corinthian colonies of northwestern Greece and southern Albania (including Ambracia, Apollonia, Corcyra, Leucas, Anactorium, Thermos, Calydon, Amantia, and Oricum) (cf. Fig. 1.1).[10] The *baetyl*, or sacred stone, played a significant role in the worship of Apollo in these colonies, and, indeed, became widely known as the aniconic representation of the Olympian god. The *baetyl*, although it could be a mere stone, traditionally assumed a number of forms.[11] From the Archaic period through the Roman period, in sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo, the *baetyl* adopted the form of pillars and columns, as evidenced on coins issued throughout those periods.[12] In Ambracia, one of the Corinthian colonies in the region of Butrint and the home of a

Fig. 9.3 Baetyl *monument at Apollonia (ICAA)*

sanctuary to Apollo Pythios, architectural evidence suggests that the god was worshipped in his aniconic form.[13] In the rear of the cella of one of the temples, a base with an incised circle has been interpreted as a support for a *baetyl*.[14] Similar monuments were discovered in Corinth itself, where the *baetyl* sat on a large rectangular pedestal near a street, as well as at Apollonia (Fig. 9.3).[15] Both baetyls at Apollonia were found entrenched within the urban landscape. The intact *baetyl* at Apollonia is located near the Odeum and the Temple of Artemis within the town while a second *baetyl* was discovered in pieces near the fourth century BC walls.[16]

Apollo may also have been worshipped at Butrint, although the only evidence comes from fragments of Roman statues found respectively in the Theatre and, together with a statue of Dionysus, within the nymphaeum fountain close to the Tower Gate.[17] Apollo was the patron deity for colonists, and hence would have been eminently appropriate for Corinthian and Corcyrean, as well as later Roman, settlers. For the re-founded Augustan colony, the cult of Apollo would potentially have had a particular significance as articulating its status as a Roman city and its links with the new political regime. Though no firm date can yet be established for the construction of Monument 2, it is tempting to hypothesise that it could either be an Augustan monument celebrating the city's colonial status, or date to the mid-1st century AD when most of the structures on the plain seem first to have been constructed.

Fig. 9.4 Terracotta revetment from the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (after Tomei 1997)

Apollo became one of the patron deities of the first Roman emperor, and to him Augustus dedicated a temple constructed next to his own house on the Palatine hill in Rome. When Octavian founded Nicopolis in celebration of his victory, Apollo became the protector of the settlement here as well, and fragments of a *baetyl* have been found inside the city suggesting that the god was worshipped here in this guise.[18] Indeed, the cult of Apollo acted as an important unifying force in the synoecism of Nicopolis. As suggested by Nicholas Purcell, the ancient cities of this region were far more unified and integrated than the craggy coastline and political borders lead us to believe today, and the common religious worship of Apollo would have further enhanced socio-economic ties grounded in local trade, marriage and shared customs.[19] In fact, Augustus is known to have introduced the cult to several settlements in the area.[20] Augustus was certainly familiar with the worship of the deity in the form of the *baetyl*: as discussed above, it is a prominent monument at Apollonia where the young Octavian studied until 44 BC, and his Temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill in Rome was decorated with terracotta plaques depicting the aniconic representation of the deity (Fig. 9.4). It would thus make it a suitable form of worship in these new colonies, whether as an imperial dedication intentionally linking the city with Nicopolis and all that that signified, or as a civic dedication from a community keen to establish its Roman credentials and signal its loyalty to the new rule.

Although subsequent emperors did not link themselves with Apollo to the extent that Augustus did, Nero, too, established a strong association with the sun god, although most of the references to Apollo appear in the second half of his reign after his return from Campania in AD 59.[21] Contemporary authors, notably Lucan and Seneca, celebrated the connection between this god and the emperor.[22] Within Greece, local mints, including Corinth, Patras and Nicopolis, celebrated imperial visits and beneficence by issuing coins of Nero in the guise of Apollo.[23] If the citizens of Butrint anticipated an imperial visit during the reign of Nero – for instance, in 66/67 AD when he was in Achaea – it would have been appropriate to honour the emperor by dedicating a new sanctuary or embellishing an already existing sanctuary dedicated to the emperor's patron deity.

Subsequent emperors did not actively promote a relationship with Apollo; however, Hadrian was known for imperial beneficence. Hailed as *restitutor* in numerous provinces, he adhered to two major categories for imperial donations: utilitarian constructions and religious edifices.[24] Hadrian, more so than previous emperors, embraced his role as religious leader of the Roman people; in this guise, Hadrian may have donated money to restore or construct a sanctuary of Apollo in the 2nd century AD.[25] In other words, it is possible that an earlier *baetyl*

was relocated and monumentalized in this period and placed it inside a new precinct. To do so would have provided a powerful reminder of patronage enjoyed in the Julio-Claudian period, a political allusion to Hadrianic links with Augustus, or as a restorer of ancient cults, and a re-affirmation of the cultural and economic cohesion of the region. If the choice of local stone for the base of the monument is indicative of the economic status of Butrint, a pillar or column may have been chosen as a more economical alternative to a temple or even a statue. It is also possible that the *baetyl* was one piece of a larger sanctuary complex dedicated to Apollo.

The major problem in interpreting the monuments as Apollonic *baetyls* concerns the degree of conjecture created by the lack of absolute dates for the construction of the two monuments, and the still uncertain relationship between the two. Monument 1 is more convincing as a *baetyl* if that was also the nature of the older Monument 2, and at the moment there is no way of establishing this. Similarly, Monument 1 could conceivably be unrelated to the function of Monument 2 and instead be related to an older, pre-Roman, cult of Apollo. The cult of Apollo was rooted in the archaic period and most evidence for the worship of the god in the form of a *baetyl* stems from that period. Hence, Monument 1 at Butrint could be an edifice built around, or monumentalising, a pre-existing *baetyl*. No archaeological evidence for the cult of Apollo pre-dating the imperial sculptures, however, has been uncovered at Butrint or on the Vrina Plain as of yet.

Honorific column monument

Columns and pillars were erected in the Greek and Roman world for several different purposes, and the presence of a monumental column does not inherently indicate the presence of a deity. The visibility of the monuments and their proximity to thoroughfares could suggest that they had an honorific rather than a specifically religious function (although a *baetyl* is, in one regard, an honorary monument). However, without epigraphic evidence, it is difficult to assign it to a specific deity or individual, or indeed, to establish if the honour granted had votive, civic or funerary connotations.

The history of erecting freestanding columns dates back to prehistoric Greece as shown by Haftmann; the earliest monuments were generally erected as dedications to the gods.[26] The practice of erecting freestanding columns as votives became commonplace from the Archaic period into the 4th century BC. Monumental columns frequently did not themselves function as the votive but instead supported other traditional offerings to the gods, including tripods, bronze bowls, and representations of animals.[27] By placing the offering on top of the column, the dedication not only became prominent to all those who visited the sanctuary but was also physically closer to the god to whom it was dedicated. By the end of the Classical period, columns supported human figures, often featuring the dedicator, a trend that became more popular in the 4th century and Hellenistic period when the representations became more elaborate with the addition of equestrian figures and even familial groups; these dedications were always found within the *temenoi* of sanctuaries, very often near altars.[28] One notable example of a column that did not support an offering survives in the Greek settlement of Poseidonia in Italy: at the Temple of Athena, a Doric column has been reconstructed on its original three-step base to the northeast of the temple.[29] Despite the popularity of this votive offering from the Archaic through the Hellenistic period, it was a relatively rare form during the Roman period.[30] Because the Romans tended to avoid this particular form of dedication, it is unlikely that the monument at Butrint supported a purely votive column. Furthermore, despite the proximity of the Temple on the Vrina Plain, no additional evidence to indicate that the structure itself was a votive offering has been found.

Although the Romans did not embrace the free-standing column in its votive form, they did adopt the column as an honorary monument. The notion of honour was often inextricably linked to triumph, particularly in terms of the erection of honorary columns.[31] One of the earliest such examples was dedicated in 168 BC by L. Aemilius Paulus at Delphi after his victory at Pydna over Perseus and the Macedonians. This column supported an equestrian statue of Aemilius Paulus, and underneath it four reliefs depicted his victory at the Battle at Pydna. Honorary columns were normally erected at significant locations, like Delphi or the Roman Forum, which have international renown, or at local forum or temple precincts.[32] A form popularized during the Republic, honorary columns continued to be dedicated during the Empire. Tiberius honoured himself with a column at Antioch celebrating his victory over the Parthians, and the citizens of Sagalassos in Pisidia erected four columns in the upper agora to honour local individuals during the reign of Claudius.[33] These are just a few examples of freestanding columns erected in the Roman period in a purely honorary guise. Since no similar extant examples remains from the Greek period, it would appear that this function of the column is a distinctly Roman development. However, in the form and shape of the monument, the Romans were clearly influenced by Greek traditions.[34] The structures discovered at Butrint were situated in a prominent and significant location within the settlement on the Vrina Plain, and the quality of craftsmanship of Monument 1 attests to its prestige. Therefore, the latter or perhaps both monuments could have been erected to honour a prominent local citizen. In a study of the principles of Roman architecture Mark Wilson-Jones discovered that while Vitruvian measurements were not always followed to the letter, the Romans did use standard ratios – as is the case for the Column of Trajan, which used orthodox Roman, though not Vitruvian, measurements in creating the correct proportions for a monu-

mental column.[35] For example, when constructing a monolithic Corinthian column, the orthodox ratio between diameter and height was set at eight to one, and multiples of six were preferred.[36] Given this standard and the diameter of the ring in the monument (*c*. 0.8 m), we can project that the column might have stood between 6 and 7 meters high, a sizeable monument visible from land and sea. Such prominent visibility, in a relatively high traffic location, suggests that this column was intended to be seen by a multitude of people and therefore possessed important honorary aspects.

The area surrounding the monuments suggests that the columnar monument could have had more functions than simply an honorary dedication, a fact not uncommon for freestanding columns. The Column of Trajan in Rome, perhaps the most famous freestanding column in the Roman world celebrated the victories of the emperor in the Dacian wars, but it also marked his burial spot and thus combined both honorary and funerary functions, two of the primary functions associated with this type of structure. As early as the archaic period, freestanding column monuments, such as the Column of Xenvares on Corfu, began to function as funerary markers.[37] Columnar funerary dedications, which are by nature imbued with certain honorary overtones, probably stemmed from the prehistoric and Archaic Greek tradition of erecting columns as votive offerings.[38] Funerary columns are often distinguished by their presence in an isolated, non-architectural context, and by an inscription on the abacus, or column shaft itself, identifying the individual honoured by the monument.[39] The monument at Butrint was not erected in an isolated, non-architectural environment (nor, of course, does it have an extant inscription), thus making it unlikely that it possessed purely funerary overtones. The monument constructed at Butrint, however, might fit well within the tradition of funerary monument with honorary overtones. Its prominent placement within the colony indicates that visibility was an important aspect of its function, and its proximity to other funerary monuments suggests that it might be part of a larger cemetery for the Roman colony (cf. Fig. 8.3).

As described elsewhere in this volume, Roman tombs and cemeteries line the waterfront west of the aqueduct, marking a possible east–west route by water and land, and closer to Monuments 1 and 2, approximately 150 meters to the northeast, at least one 1st century AD tomb has been excavated (cf. Fig. 8.28–29). Given the concentration of tombs in the area, it is possible that funerary connotations formed part of the composition of Monument 1. In fact, both monuments might have been imbued with funerary overtones, perhaps even intended to honour the same person or group. The ash deposits associated with the earlier Monument 2 could then be evidence of sacrifice carried out, suggesting perhaps that it was, in fact, an *ustrinum*, a funeral pyre. If that is the case, then the later monument, with its interior, circular foundation,

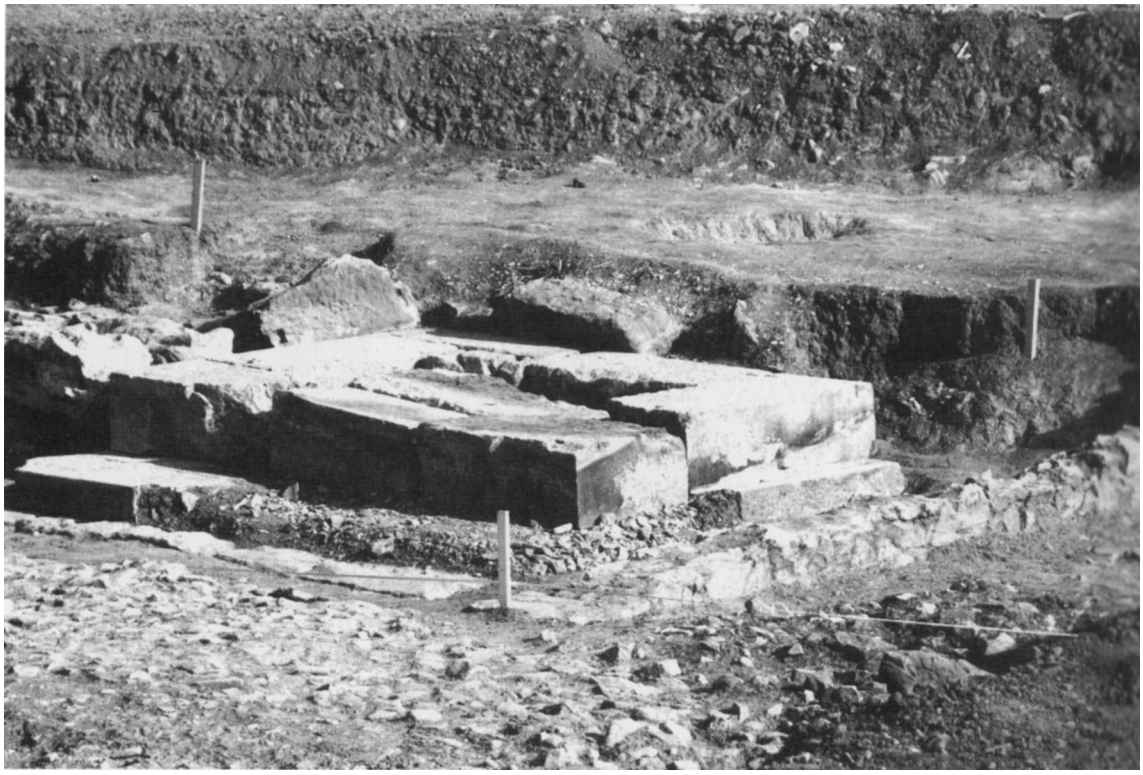

Fig. 9.5 Funerary monument from Phoenicê (after Lepore and Gamberini 2003)

might have been constructed *post facto* to honour the individual cremated on this site. The tradition of honouring individuals with permanent monuments at the site of their death or cremation is well documented in Roman archaeology. In Rome there is evidence for a cenotaph in the Roman Forum marking the funeral pyre of Julius Caesar.[40] Less than fifty years later another cenotaph was erected in the Forum to honour Galba on the spot where he was murdered. Both of these monuments, which combine honorary and funerary functions, take the form of columns. Indeed, a single individual could be honoured with several funerary monuments including a funerary pyre, altar, column and subsequently a temple. Furthermore, according to Suetonius, the cenotaph of Julius Caesar was used for a long time afterwards for the purpose of sacrifices, vows, and settling disputes by swearing in Caesar's name, which perhaps explains the longevity of the monuments at Butrint.[41]

Further comparanda for the monuments at Butrint comes from the settlement of Phoenicê located at the northern end of Lake Butrint. Here a large section of the necropolis has been uncovered, containing tombs dating from the Hellenistic period through the first two centuries of the Roman Empire.[42] One of these tombs, dated to between the 2nd and 1st centuries BC and originally interpreted as an altar, was constructed of local limestone blocks, arranged as a 3 × 3 m square, and seems to have held a central role in this area of the cemetery (Fig. 9.5).[43] Furthermore, another structure, located just to the east, seems to have been directly associated with the square altar, and the excavators have suggested it might have functioned as a small terrace.[44] Moreover, like the monuments at Butrint, the two structures at Phoenicê were respected throughout the life of the cemetery, suggesting that they occupied a special, honorary status.[45] A second tomb at Phoenicê reflects a construction similar to that of Monument 1 at Butrint. Dubbed Monument 6, it is a square edifice, 8 × 8 m, formed of limestone of which only the foundation remains.[46] A rubble interior formed the centre of the edifice with a core of *opus caementicium*, similar to the composition of those monuments found at Butrint.[47] The excavators suggested that the Phoenicê monument supported a podium or other structures relevant to life in Phoenicê in the late 1st century BC or early 1st century AD; they also suggest that this structure, due to its location, size and style, may have had funerary as well as social and religious connotations.[48] The similarities in construction between the Phoenicê and Butrint monuments are striking and suggest that perhaps the two monuments were not just contemporary but even an influence on each other. The two monuments may have functioned within the same social and religious contexts within their respective communities.

Due to the limited nature of the investigation, the antique destruction and spoliation of the monuments, and the water table making the foundation layers inaccessible, it is impossible to determine with any certainty the absolute function of the monuments. While comparanda from Nicopolis and Phoenicê suggest certain trends in terms of construction, the identification of the function of these monuments remains elusive. Based on the location and the quality of the masonry, the monuments at Butrint most likely functioned as honorific monuments within a religious or funerary context. On the one hand, the entire area could have held some sort of sacred connotation, perhaps forming a sanctuary. Altars, statues and honorific columns were not at all unusual decorations for sacred space during the Roman period. Indeed, throughout the Mediterranean, there are numerous examples of *temenoi* adorned with these structures. On the other, the tradition of funerary monuments with honorary overtones is equally well established in the Roman world. One thing seems certain: for anyone approaching Butrint as well as for anyone gazing across the Vivari Channel around Butrint, the height and prominence of the monuments would have reflected the status and prestige of the city as much as of the honouree.

Notes

1 I would like to thank all those who helped in the writing and editing of this article, as well as those with whom I have had the good fortune to excavate over the years, in particular William Bowden, Andrew Crowson, Oliver Gilkes, Simon Greenslade, Inge Lyse Hansen, Richard Hodges, Sarah Leppard, Sally Martin, and Riley Thorne.

2 These ceramic finds formed part of the fill of the so-called "votive boxes": two small, irregularly shaped containers, subsequently covered with small capstones, built up against the southern side of Monument 1; see Crowson and Gilkes in this volume.

3 The remains of a dolium imbedded in the floor of one of the rooms suggest that the building might have been used for storage; though, due to the limited nature of the excavations it was not possible to uncover its full northern extent.

4 There are, of course, exceptions to this statement, a notable one being the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon.

5 Rose 1993: 98.

6 Rose 1997: 92.

7 It is conceivable that the upper courses of this monument could have been constructed or decorated in marble. There were several fragments of coloured marble recovered in the immediate vicinity during excavations although it was not enough to conclude with any certainty that part of the structure was constructed in marble.

8 Rose 1997: 92.

9 Zachos 2001: 34; 2003: 70–1. Zachos (2003) also proposed interpreting this structure as a small cella containing a cult statue.

10 Tzouvara-Souli 1993: 65–82; 2001: 233–56. In the Corinthian colonies on the island of Corcyra, and in the province of Epirus in particular, Apollo was worshipped in the guise of Archegetes, Agyieus, and later Pythios Soter (Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 233).

11 Worship in the form of a stone, may have been predominant in the Aegean during the prehistoric period, as argued by Warren (1989: 193–206) on basis of contemporary seals and of the arrangement of the central courtyard of the palace at Mallia.
12 See Tzouvara-Souli 2001 for further explication of the numismatic evidence.
13 Attribution of this site to Apollo Pythios is based on a stele dating to the 2nd century BC (Cabanes and Andreou 1985: 499–544).
14 Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 234–5.
15 Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 235. For the cult of Apollo in Corinth, see Lisle 1955: 25, 28, 82, 101; Will 1955: 235f., 401f.; for the monuments, see Sakellariou and Faraklas 1971: 143; Scranton 1951: 83; Broneer 1942: 153–4.
16 Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 236.
17 For the Apollo from the Nymphaeum, see Ugolini 1942: 89–90, and Fig. 5.7 in this volume; for that from the theatre, see Bergemann 1998: 138–40 and Fig. 4.9 in this volume. Despite their date, it has been suggested that the statues may provide evidence for the archaic worship of the deity in the city of *Buthrotum*, cf. Hammond 1967: 110; Ugolini 1942: 81f.; *Rivista d'Albania* 1940: 322.
18 Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 242–3.
19 Purcell 1987: 73. See also Burton 2002: 113.
20 Cf. Tzouvara-Souli 2001: 245.
21 Seneca *Apocolocyntosis* 4.
22 Lucan *Civil War* 1.47–50; Seneca *Apocolocyntosis* 4.
23 Champlin 2003: 117.
24 Boatwright 2000: 143.
25 Boatwright 2000: 143.
26 Haftmann 1939: 5–7. Other key works on freestanding columnar monuments in the Mediterranean, include Becatti 1960; Crema 1960; McGowan 1993; Thiersch 1909; and Wannagat 1995. Both Dinsmoor (1973: 121–2) and Lawrence (1973: 91) include brief sections discussing the development of the column as a monument in Greece. Vogel 1973 includes a section on the history of the freestanding column as a monument.
27 Haftmann 1939: 8–9, 11–14; Thiersch 1909: 149–51. For example, the Naxian dedication at Delphi, erected by the inhabitants of Naxos in the 6th century BC, supported a statue of a sphinx. For more on the Naxian monument at Delphi, see Amandry 1953: 3–32.
28 Haftmann 1939: 8–9, 11–14, 17–20; Lawrence 1973: 208; Thiersch 1909: 149–51.
29 Pedley 1990: 59. There was another, larger votive Doric column associated with the Temple of Athena as evidenced by the sizeable base that survives, but none of the drums associated with it have been recovered.
30 A notable exception to this is the column at Mainz, dated to the Neronian period. This column functioned both as a votive and as an honorific dedication since the inscription notes that it was erected to Jupiter for the health of Nero (Vogel 1973: 24). Haftmann (1939: 33–4) cites further literary references to Roman votive columns.
31 According to Pliny (*Natural History* 34.20–21; 34.27), for the Romans the column was used to honour men of distinction by physically raising them above their fellow men.
32 Servius (3.29), in his commentary on Virgil's *Georgics*, tells us that Augustus erected four *columnae rostratae* in the Forum Romanum to celebrate his victory over Egypt.
33 There is a further two honorary columns in Sagalassos: at the theater and above the west valley. For the column of Tiberius, see Malalas *Chronicle* 233.3; Becatti 1960: 31; for the columns in Sagalassos, see Lanckoronski 1893: 141–2; Waelkens 1990: 119–45.
34 Vogel 1973: 24. In this she agrees with Becatti (1960) but disagrees with Haftmann (1939: 18–19), who suggests that certain columns from the 2nd century have purely honorary overtones (e.g., at Delphi and Pergamon). Thiersch (1909: 151) suggests that these Hellenistic monuments are actually equivocal.
35 Wilson Jones 2000: 161–74.
36 Wilson Jones 2000: 149. Vitruvius (*De Architectura* 3.5.5–7) says that the height of the Corinthian capital should equal the lower diameter of the column, but Wilson Jones suggested that this occurs only rarely in practice (Wilson Jones 2000: 150).
37 McGowan 1995: 619, 631. The earliest excavated freestanding column erected within a funerary context, the Column of Xenvares on Corfu, dates from the early 6th century BC and was identified by an inscription found on the monument. There are also references to tombs decorated with a vertical marker in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and McGowan (1995: 615–17) suggests that this type of grave marker was used as early as the Archaic period in part to evoke the Age of Heroes.
38 Collignon 1911: 37–41; Daremberg and Saglio 1877–1919: 1221; Haftmann 1939: 9–10; Vogel 1973: 25.
39 McGowan 1995: 615–6.
40 Vogel 1973: 26. The primary evidence for this comes from Suetonius *Julius Caesar* 84–5.
41 Suetonius *Julius Caesar* 85. Not all sources indicate that a column was erected to honour Caesar; some of the later sources mention an altar and a *bustum*, a small burial mound. For the sources on the presence of an altar, see Appian *Civil Wars* 2.148, 3.2; Dio Cassius 44.5; for the mound see Cicero *Phillipic* 1.2.5.
42 Lepore and Gamberini 2003: 73.
43 Lepore and Gamberini 2003: 73–5. See also Negretto *et al.* 2005 for the latest excavation results from this area.
44 Lepore and Gamberini 2003: 75.
45 Lepore and Gamberini 2003: 75.
46 Lepore and Gamberini 2003: 85.
47 Lepore and Gamberini 2003: 85–6.
48 Lepore and Gamberini 2003: 86.

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10 Butrinto e Fenice a confronto

Sandro De Maria

Le due città della Caonia ellenistica – e poi dell'Epiro romano – a fronte di un'evidenza storico–letteraria e anche archeologica drasticamente diseguale mostrano comunque linee di sviluppo che possono essere lette in parallelo, secondo ruoli che la storiografia moderna ha voluto (forse eccessivamente) interpretare come integrabili fra loro, nel senso di un primato susseguitosi nel tempo prima per Fenice (*Phoinike*), poi per Butrinto (Cfr. Fig. 1.1 e 1.2). A ben vedere, ai due fulcri di questa parte del territorio epirota andrebbe aggiunto un terzo polo, affatto differente per genesi e per morfologia urbana, quello della non lontana Antigonea, che almeno fino alle vicende drammatiche della terza guerra macedonica sembra avere svolto un ruolo importante nelle dinamiche storiche ed economiche dell'organizzazione del territorio (vedi ad esempio la possibile coniazione nella città delle monete del *koinón* epirota).[1] Ma la posizione di Antigonea un po' defilata nella valle del Drino e il suo carattere di città di fondazione la pongono su un piano diverso rispetto alle fisionomie urbanistiche e alle vicende storiche che hanno riguardato gli altri due centri. I quali, proprio a proposito di genesi degli impianti e di formazione degli abitati, mostrano cospicue diversità, al di là di quelle affinità su taluni aspetti della loro storia urbanistica e monumentale, cui facevo cenno e sui quali tornerò fra breve.

La morfologia del terreno, in entrambi i casi, non appare poi così dissimile, anche se la situazione assolutamente straordinaria dell'ambiente geografico che caratterizza Butrinto la pone su un piano in certo senso irripetibile: la collina della città alta, la breve pianura a sud, il lago e il canale di Vivari, la grande piana di Vrina al di là di questo (Fig. 10.1).[2] Anche Fenice è caratterizzata da un impianto di altura (Fig. 10.2–3), ma assai più esteso di quello di Butrinto, con la conseguente necessità di edificare estensivamente i fianchi del colle, soprattutto quello più agevole e dolce del pendio sud–occidentale.[3] Lo sviluppo di insediamenti nei due colli appare certamente legato a un processo di interazione stretta col territorio circostante, anche nel senso del controllo delle vie di comunicazione, che per Butrinto comprende anche quello essenziale delle rotte e degli approdi in proiezione innanzi tutto corinzio–corcirese, mentre per Fenice – città dell'entroterra allo snodo fra i collegamenti con la costa, mediante lo scalo di *Onchesmós* (odierna Saranda), e con l'interno illirico attraverso appunto la valle del Drino – la proiezione marittima appare meno immediata. Ma già sul tema della genesi degli abitati – assai dibattuto dagli studiosi e in definitiva ancora non risolto come problema storico e archeologico – dobbiamo mettere in conto una di quelle disparità nella documentazione cui facevo riferimento poc'anzi.[4] La testimonianza di Ecateo di Mileto in favore di una Butrinto quanto meno arcaica trova un riscontro efficace da quanto sembra documentato dagli scavi della collina, attorno al castello veneziano, scavi che si sanno eseguiti ripetutamente, ma che restano ancora poco documentati, e dai quali tuttavia è sicuramente emersa ceramica corinzia arcaica almeno del VII–VI secolo a.C.[5] Le fonti storico–letterarie per Butrinto lasciano completamente nell'oscurità tutto il periodo successivo, fino alla metà circa del I sec. a.C., in pratica fino al ben noto carteggio fra Attico e Cicerone e alle testimonianze del *Bellum civile* di Cesare.[6] In particolare – come ha osservato Pierre Cabanes – il silenzio è totale per il tempo durante il quale la città è stata il centro del *koinón* dei *Prasaiboi* e oltre, tra il 163–57 a.C. circa e l'età della colonia cesariano–augustea, dunque per l'intero periodo medio–tardoellenistico, sul quale però l'epigrafia ha gettato una luce di grande interesse, soprattutto grazie ai numerosissimi atti di emancipazione degli schiavi provenienti dalla *párodos* occidentale del teatro e dalla cosiddetta "torre delle iscrizioni".[7] Esattamente il contrario di quanto si può constatare per Fenice, sulla quale invece le fonti (in particolare Polibio) sono abbastanza ricche di informazioni proprio per l'età ellenistica, dal 230 circa a.C. e fino al periodo di dominazione di Carope il Giovane, alla metà del secolo

Fig. 10.1 L'acropoli di Butrinto e M. Sotirës (MAIP)

Fig. 10.2 Il colle della città alta di Fenice (MAIP)

successivo.[8] Nel momento in cui il ruolo storico del *koinón* epirota si esaurisce, così come quello che una nota iscrizione della metà circa del II sec. a.C. definisce "il *koinón* degli Epiroti che vivono attorno a Fenice", cessano le testimonianze scritte sulla città e sul suo territorio e occorrerà attendere Procopio, alla metà del VI secolo d.C., perché Fenice venga ancora ricordata con una certa attenzione dalle fonti storiche.[9]

In modo sorprendente corrisponde a questo stato di fatto della documentazione quello delle testimonianze

epigrafiche, ricche e straordinariamente istruttive anche per la Butrinto di età romana, mentre a Fenice esiste un'epigrafia documentata soltanto o quasi per il periodo medio–tardo ellenistico. Di più: quest'ultima documentazione è quasi esclusivamente di carattere funerario, tranne qualche frammento anche qui di atti di emancipazione di schiavi (ritrovati e resi noti da Luigi Ugolini).[10] La natura funeraria di gran parte di questi documenti li rende utili soprattutto per la ricerca prosopografica e onomastica, dal momento che anche per l'epigrafia greca manca totalmente quella di carattere celebrativo e monumentale. Quella latina, poi, è del tutto assente, ancora non attestata. Anche gli scavi recenti da noi condotti nella necropoli meridionale stanno confermando questo stato della documentazione e solo qualche stele funeraria contribuisce a gettare un po' di luce sui periodi o gli aspetti oscuri della storia politico–sociale della città e del suo territorio. Mi riferisco, ad esempio, a un'iscrizione ritrovata nel 2002 che per la prima volta attesta la prossenia della comunità dei Caoni, concessa a un cittadino di Corcira.[11] Dunque, ragionando in termini di lungo periodo, se Butrinto è nota dall'età arcaica a quella tardo-ellenistica soprattutto attraverso i dati archeologici (in gran parte, però, ancora da esaminare o da riesaminare), per l'intero periodo alto-imperiale assai ricca è la documentazione storica ed epigrafica, che scema poi gradualmente nel corso del tempo, per riportare in primo piano, ancora una volta, l'efficacia della documentazione archeologica. Il contrario accade per Fenice: testimonianze storiche importanti per il secolo circa del medio ellenismo, silenzio totale sulla Fenice romana, nota esclusivamente attraverso la documentazione archeologica.

Questo oggettivo stato di fatto ha prodotto un effetto che si sta rivelando fallace: nella storia degli studi si è radicata una convinzione riduttiva se non affatto negativa sul ruolo svolto dall'antico centro del *koinón* dei Caoni durante l'età romana, a tutto vantaggio di una crescente importanza che è stata riconosciuta a Butrinto, grazie soprattutto alla deduzione coloniaria, progettata da Cesare, ostacolata da chi aveva cospicui interessi *in loco* (si veda il carteggio fra Attico e Cicerone e le resistenze del primo, grosso proprietario di terre e pascoli in Epiro) e infine realizzata da Augusto. E dal punto di vista ideologico, la leggenda che legava Butrinto alla saga troiana di Enea in viaggio verso il Lazio, ricordata con enfasi dai poeti augustei, da Virgilio a Ovidio, ha certamente avuto un ruolo rilevante nei programmi del *princeps*, al di là dell'oggettiva necessità di distribuire terre a veterani e a nuovi ceti in cerca di sistemazione sociale ed economica.[12] In realtà il volto che Fenice mostra per il suo periodo romano di vita, e che gli scavi recenti stanno sempre meglio mettendo a fuoco, appare di gran lunga diverso da quello riduttivo e marginale che un luogo comune ormai radicato tendeva appunto ad attribuirle.[13]

Resta peraltro ancora aperto il tema della genesi degli abitati, come dicevo. Per Butrinto si tratta di una vicenda certamente assai antica, forse passata anche attraverso una sorta di colonizzazione corinzio–corcirese, comunque non attestata dalle fonti, ma che forse può risalire molto più indietro nel tempo, addirittura allo scorcio del secondo millennio a.C., se la saga troiana che coinvolge la città può essere la proiezione mitica di uno scalo miceneo del tutto plausibile, anche se non ancora documentato, e non soltanto una costruzione di carattere cólto prodotta a posteriori. Una vicenda che poi sfocerà in una urbanizzazione compiuta e ben percepibile soltanto in piena età ellenistica, la prima che l'osservazione archeologica del sito permette di cogliere con evidenza. Assai diverso il caso di Fenice, la cui genesi sembra al momento molto più recente: i pochi oggetti dell'Eneolitico o dell'Età del Bronzo trovati da Ugolini nell'area centrale della città, alle spalle del tempietto prostilo forse prospettante sull'*agorà*, non sono certamente significativi riguardo a questo problema.[14] Nel caso di Fenice, fonti storiche (meglio: epigrafiche) e dati archeologici coincidono perfettamente, a indicare un fenomeno di urbanizzazione avviato attorno alla metà del IV sec. a.C., forse a seguito di un processo di sinecismo di abitati minori sparsi nel circondario, di cui si stanno trovando le tracce per quanto riguarda almeno le loro continuità durante l'età ellenistica.[15] Le prime testimonianze epigrafiche sulla città, come la lista dei tearodochi di Argo, e le osservazioni stratigrafiche eseguite recentissimamente in un quartiere di case ellenistiche sul pendio sud–ovest della collina, attestano che la città è già tale in quei decenni, e che è avviato un vasto programma di edificazione civile che prevedeva estesi terrazzamenti e probabilmente almeno l'avvio della costruzione della cinta muraria, cui segue immediatamente l'edificazione di quartieri abitativi (Fig. 10.4).[16] Tutto ciò dà corpo a un vero e proprio centro urbano dalle ambizioni monumentali cospicue, cui è da attribuire un ruolo di primato almeno nella comunità dei Caoni, e che poi arriverà, attraverso il periodo del regno Eacide, fino a quella supremazia acquisita come centro più prospero e meglio fortificato dell'Epiro che Polibio riconoscerà a Fenice per gli anni attorno al 230 a.C. E proprio la cinta muraria, nei suoi tratti di piena età ellenistica, può trovare confronti precisi con quanto osserviamo nella Butrinto coeva, dove la tecnica trapezoidale pseudoisodoma è ugualmente impiegata, anche se le poderose strutture del tratto orientale della cinta superiore di Fenice non hanno davvero l'eguale, giustificando in pieno le parole ammirate di Polibio (Fig. 10.5–6).[17]

Com'è ben noto, anche le vicende delle ricerche archeologiche legano fra loro le due città della Caonia. Se Fenice fu scoperta da Luigi Ugolini nel corso dei suoi primi viaggi in Albania (1924–25) e poi a lui si devono i primi scavi nel sito (1926–27), altrettanto si deve dire, nella sostanza, per Butrinto, dove Ugolini spostò l'opera della Missione Italiana già nel 1928 e dove lavorò fino all'anno della sua morte precoce, il 1936, seguito poi

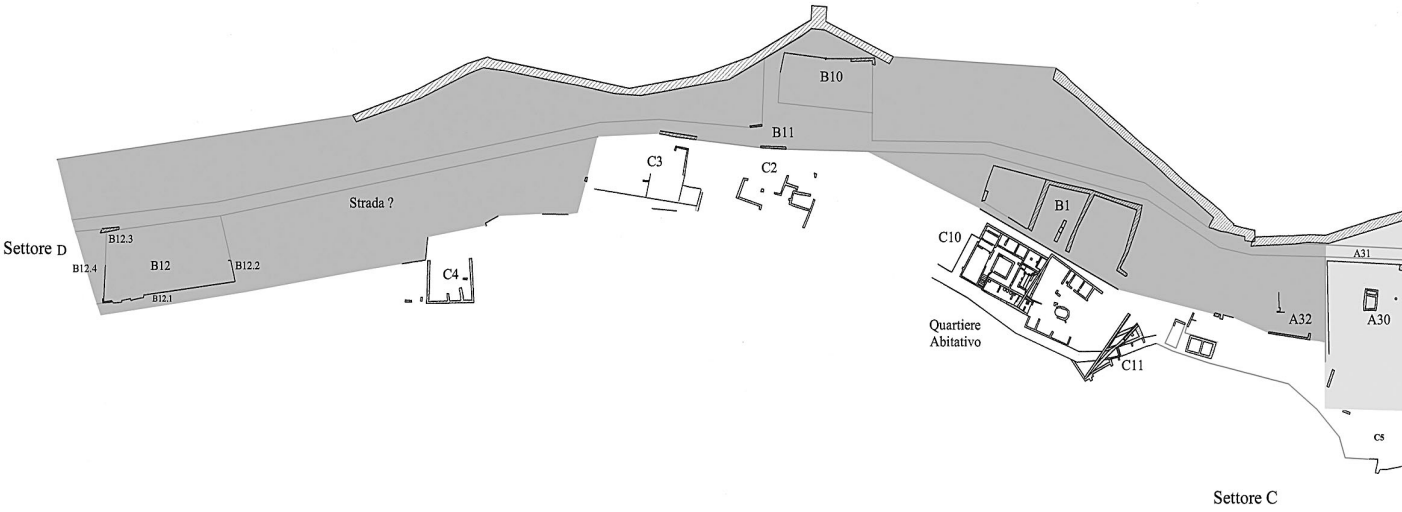

Fig. 10.3 Fenice, pianta della città alta (MAIP 2002)

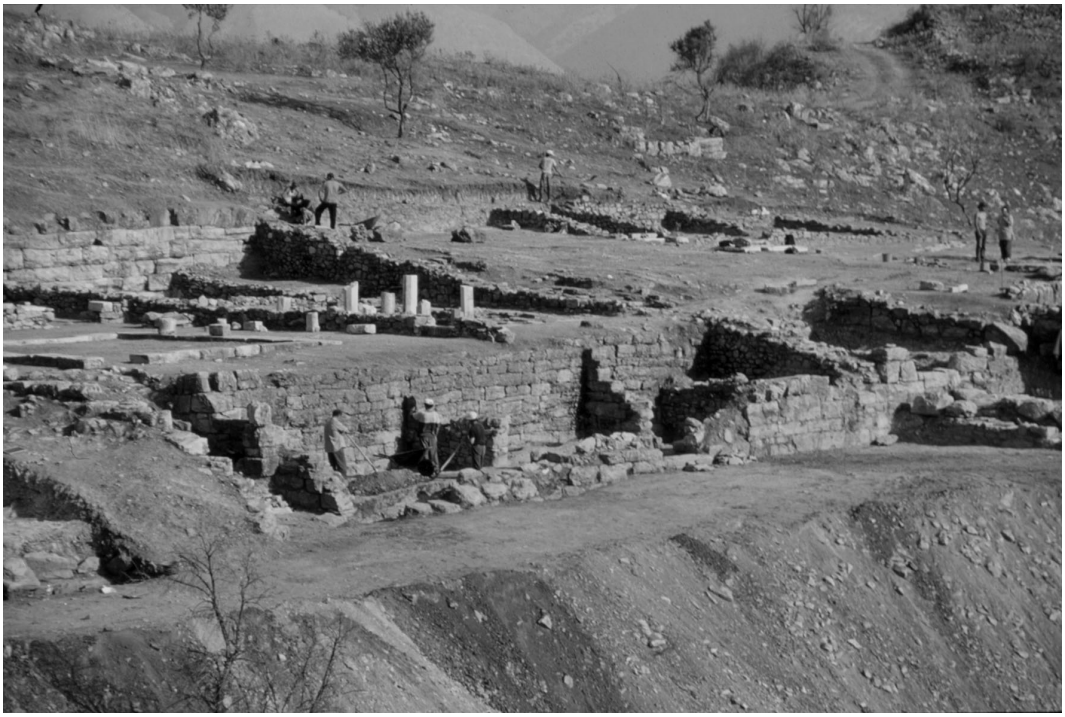

Fig. 10.4 Fenice, la terrazza delle case ellenistiche lungo il pendio meridionale della collina (MAIP)

dall'opera dei nuovi direttori della Missione, Pirro Marconi e Domenico Mustilli, fino agli ultimi lavori anteguerra di Claudio Pellegrino Sestieri.[18] Agli archeologi albanesi si devono nuove ricerche fra gli anni Cinquanta e gli Ottanta del Novecento, ancora una volta in entrambi i centri, lavori importanti ma che – soprattutto per Fenice – restano purtroppo assai mal documentati. E infine le nuove ricerche italo–albanesi a Fenice e anglo–albanesi a Butrinto, tuttora in corso e che proiettano nel futuro questa sorte comune, che nel corso di ormai quasi un secolo le due località antiche hanno conosciuto sul piano della ricerca archeologica.[19]

Affinità e disuguaglianze si alternano dunque nel corso del tempo fra le due città. Va detto che solo recentemente è stato posto per entrambe il problema di uno studio esauriente per quanto riguarda la morfologia generale e le trasformazioni degli impianti urbani, intesi come fenomeno globale, non parcellizzato in quella sorta di

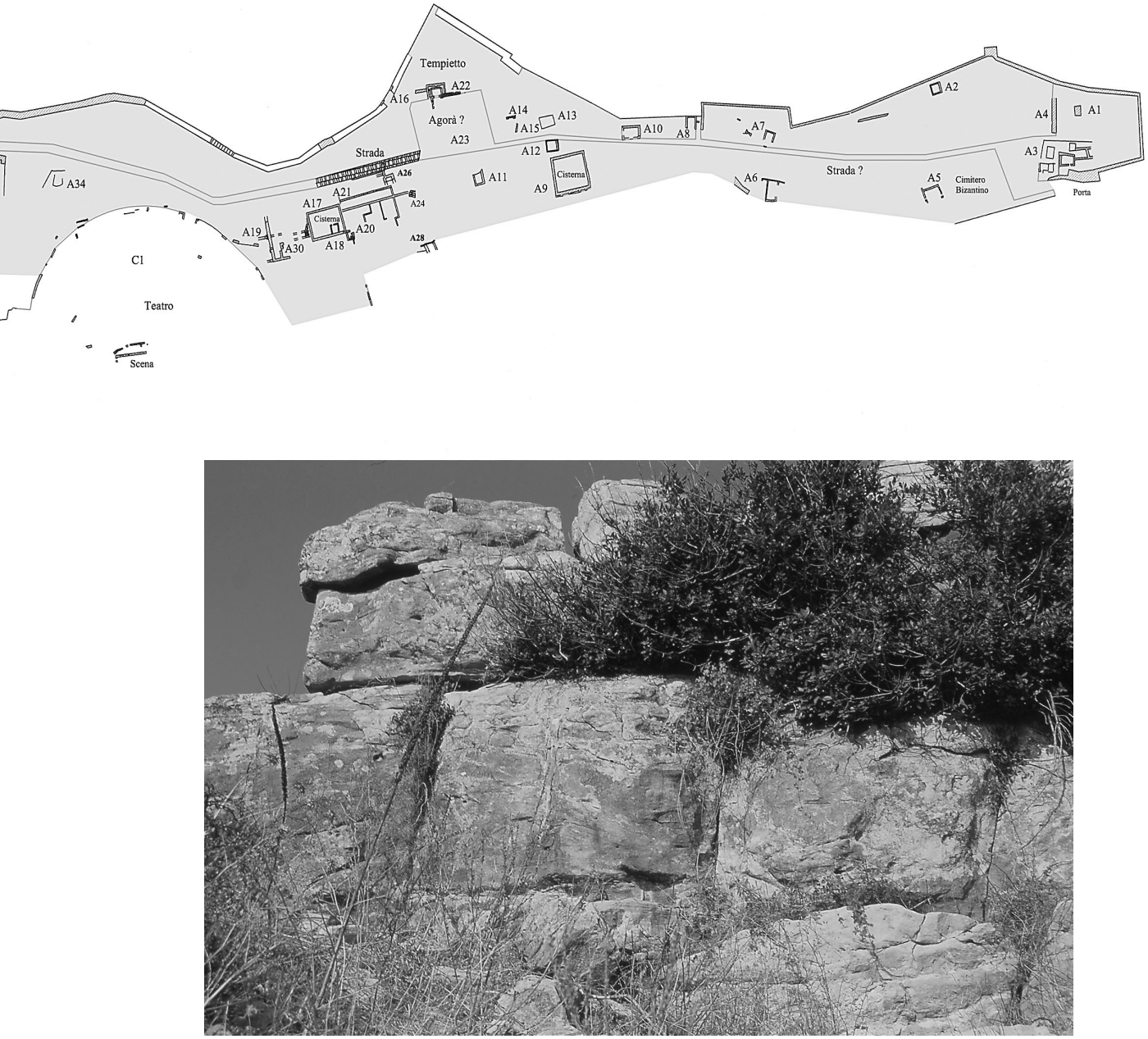

Fig. 10.5 Fenice. Tratto della cinta muraria nel settore sud-orientale della collina (MAIP)

'pianta a macchie di leopardo' alla quale l'occasionalità o gli orientamenti secondo i quali sono stati condotti gli scavi avevano condannato le due città. In altre parole: né a Butrinto né a Fenice le ricerche sono state orientate in tempi rapidi verso la comprensione dell'assetto urbanistico e delle sue trasformazioni nel corso del tempo, almeno sino alla stagione più recente della ripresa degli scavi, ovvero dal 1994 a Butrinto, dal 2000 a Fenice. Ma grazie appunto alle ultime ricerche il problema comincia ad assumere contorni più definiti. Per quanto riguarda la genesi degli abitati e i pochi dati di cui disponiamo (soprattutto per Butrinto), abbiamo già brevemente detto. Ma per l'età ellenistica un vero schema urbano a Butrinto sfugge ancora.[20] Certamente si tratta di un centro 'in trasformazione', come tale estraneo a una logica programmata tipica piuttosto delle città di fondazione o comunque soggette a progetti anche parziali, che non sembra di poter ancora riconoscere, al di là del tracciato

Fig. 10.6 Butrinto. Tratto della cinta muraria in opera trapezoidale pseudoisodoma (MAIP)

almeno delle due cinte murarie, quella dell'acropoli e poi quella pienamente ellenistica, ben visibile nel versante nord, con le porte Scea e del Leone (Cfr. Fig. 1.3).[21] Tradizionalmente – ma senza effettivi dati a disposizione – l'*agorà* viene collocata a est del blocco Santuario di Asklepios–teatro, dove poi si suppone anche la presenza del *forum* della città romana. Qui viene collocato un del tutto dubbio "Tempio di Minerva" (riconosciuto grazie a una iscrizione a questa divinità, che potrebbe essere semplicemente una dedica posta in un edificio d'altra natura), edificio che in realtà fa parte di un triplice sistema di corpi di fabbrica a vano unico, dalla storia edilizia molto complessa e che io credo ancora da chiarire, ma nei quali è forse veramente da riconoscere una sequenza di edifici pubblici di carattere politico e magistratuale (soccorra qui, ad esempio, il confronto col lato meridionale del *forum* di Pompei nella sua fase altoimperiale) (cfr. Fig. 2.1 e 5.10).[22] Alla Butrinto ellenistica appartiene poi il già citato complesso tempio–teatro dedicato ad Asklepios (Fig. 10.7, cfr. Fig. 2.8), nella sua prima fase, vero fulcro religioso della città, almeno per quanto è attualmente noto, e anche in considerazione del fatto che i sacerdoti eponimi nelle iscrizioni ellenistiche del teatro sono appunto prevalentemente quelli di Asklepios, con solo qualche menzione di quelli di Zeus Soter.[23] Non vi è dunque alcun dubbio che nel versante pedecollinare sud sia da riconoscere il quartiere centrale della città ellenistica, caratterizzato anche dall'unica strada monumentale per ora riconosciuta, la cosiddetta Via sacra, poi parzialmente sacrificata, forse nel II sec. d.C., per la costruzione della nuova scena del teatro. Ma per il resto l'impianto ellenistico della città resta ancora largamente ignoto, soprattutto per la non indifferente fascia di terreno addossata alla collina a nord e a est, racchiusa entro le mura del IV–III sec. a.C.

Al contrario l'impianto urbanistico della Fenice contemporanea rivela ora tratti abbastanza definiti (Fig. 10.3), presentandosi assai esteso e sostanzialmente caratterizzato da un'urbanistica di tipo prettamente ellenistico, arroccato sul pendio meridionale della collina, a terrazzamenti, scenograficamente realizzati nell'arco di un secolo o poco più e con una stretta lingua di terra più o meno pianeggiante alla sommità, servita da una strada serpeggiante di tipo 'pergameno', che collega il quartiere orientale difeso dai più poderosi sistemi murari di tutto l'Epiro alle zone terrazzate più a occidente.[24] Questa strada borda superiormente l'imponente cavea del teatro, irregolarmente adattata a una grande conca del versante sud–ovest della collina, in modo non molto dissimile da quanto si osserva proprio nella capitale anatolica del regno degli Attalidi (Fig. 10.8). Anche a Fenice il teatro ha subito radicali modifiche tra la fine del II e gli inizi del III sec. d.C., con la costruzione di un modesto *pulpitum* e di un'altrettanto modesta frontescena a nicchie in laterizio, imponente solo per estensione (di circa 32 metri), ma non particolarmente scenografica nella sua contenuta monumentalità di facciata, a

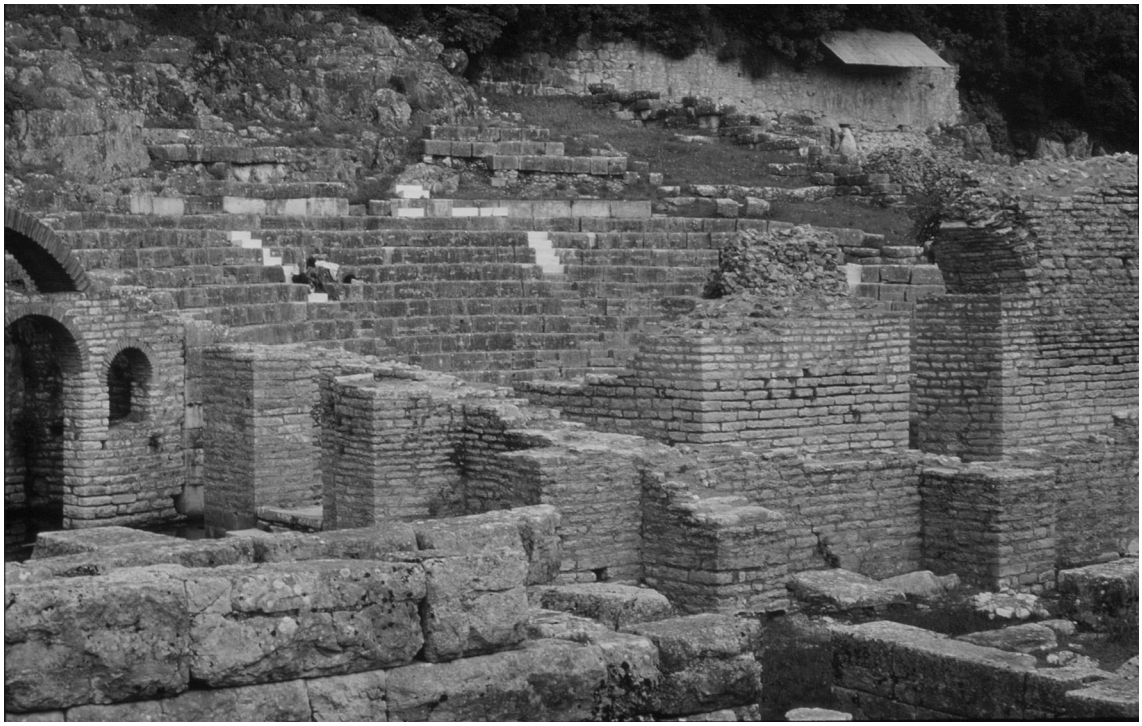

Fig. 10.7 Butrinto. Il 'tempietto' di Asklepios e il teatro (visti da sud) (MAIP)

giudicare almeno dai purtroppo pochi resti conservati e in corso di scavo dal 2001. Il teatro ha certamente una fase ellenistica, di cui la campagna del 2003 ha rivelato alcuni scarsi ma significativi resti, probabilmente risalenti al pieno III sec. a.C. Rispetto al teatro di Butrinto qui ci troviamo di fronte al "vero" teatro della città, per dimensioni e collocazione, perno del sistema monumentale realizzato a terrazze nel versante sud–occidentale del colle.[25] A Butrinto resta invece l'impressione che il teatro sia da interpretare piuttosto in stretto rapporto con il santuario di Asklepios (come è normale nei santuari greco–ellenistici) o forse come piccolo edificio polifunzionale, destinato anche ad adunanze politiche, oltre che a occasioni festive e a rappresentazioni.[26]

L'architettura religiosa a Fenice è per ora limitata alla conoscenza del piccolo tempio prostilo, probabilmente dorico e distilo, già scavato da Luigi Ugolini nel 1926 e recentemente ristudiato e restaurato.[27] L'edificio – probabilmente anch'esso del III sec. a.C. – rivela però, pur nella sua modestia di piccolo tempio non particolarmente appariscente, caratteri interessanti, rientrando in una tipologia (appunto quella dei prostili) che caratterizza abbondantemente l'architettura sacra di età ellenistica nei complessi urbani di tipo scenografico a terrazze, e che in Epiro mostra significativi esempi anche a Dodona (tempio di Afrodite) e nella stessa Butrinto. Anzi, la fase ellenistica dell'edificio che Luigi Ugolini interpretò come tempietto di Asklepios ha affinità sorprendenti con l'anonimo e contemporaneo tempio di Fenice (Fig. 10.9–10), riproponendo, soprattutto nella pianta, lo stesso semplice schema ben adattato, in entrambi i casi, alla morfologia accidentata dei terreni sui quali sono stati entrambi costruiti.[28]

Sia Fenice che Butrinto sono state certamente caratterizzate da fasi successive di espansione, documentate anche dalle complesse e pluristratificate cinte murarie. E, com'è ben noto, il fenomeno si è protratto a lungo. Solo nell'alto medioevo a Fenice sembra piuttosto verificarsi una contrazione dell'abitato, che andò riducendosi al settore orientale della collina. Ancora: entrambe, per l'età ellenistica, sembrano sfuggire a una logica di organizzazione programmata degli spazi urbani, intesi almeno nella loro totalità, riservando soltanto a singoli settori progetti unitari realizzati in un lasso di tempo piuttosto breve, come si vede bene a Fenice nel già ricordato quartiere di case a terrazze a ovest del teatro (cfr. Fig. 10.4). Delle tre maggiori città della Caonia, dunque, soltanto Antigonea mostra i caratteri regolari dell'urbanistica programmata e razionale, a coprire l'intero impianto urbano con uno schema ortogonale, grazie appunto a quello che dobbiamo intendere come un vero e proprio atto di fondazione a opera di Pirro al tempo della *symmachia* epirota.

Ma un vero punto di snodo, che è tale non solo per la storia urbanistica, ma anche e a maggior ragione per quella politica e sociale che ha coinvolto l'intera regione, lo dobbiamo cogliere con l'avvento della supremazia

Fig. 10.8 Fenice. Scavi nel teatro (MAIP 2003)

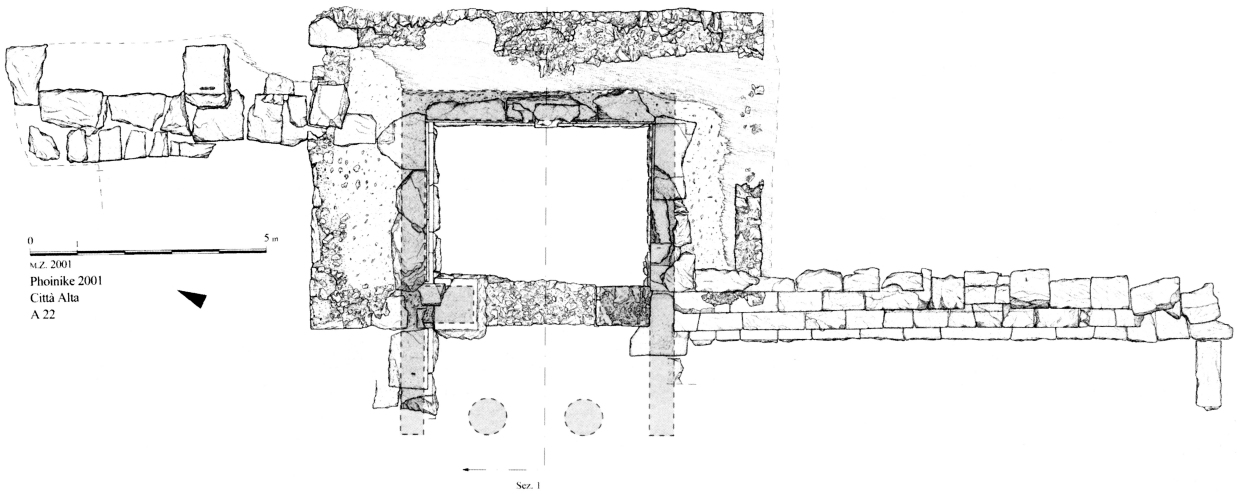

Fig. 10.9 Fenice. Pianta del tempietto prostilo (MAIP)

romana, e a Butrinto soprattutto con la deduzione coloniaria. Già per la fine del III sec. a.C. Polibio ricorda la presenza di *mercatores* italici nella regione di Fenice, ma di questa presenza non resta traccia archeologica alcuna (almeno allo stato delle ricerche), se non la logica presenza di monete italiote, già a partire dall'età tardoclassica.[29] Peraltro gli atti di affrancamento a Butrinto rivelano nel II sec. a.C. diversi nomi di italici ellenizzati, a conferma di questa presenza diffusa e capillare.[30] Per Butrinto un volto del tutto nuovo mostra la città coloniale: non solo perché questa fa ora capo a ordinamenti politico–istituzionali differenti, ma anche perché possiamo davvero dire che la mentalità collettiva nella compagine urbana muta radicalmente, essendo ora costituita prevalentemente dalla nuova componente della cittadinanza. Lo osserviamo, ad esempio, nella prassi diffusa della logica del patronato e della clientela, così tipica delle società romane del primo e del medio impero.

Si pensi al ruolo che svolgono in città i *Pomponiani* e in generale tutti coloro che dovevano la cittadinanza romana ad Attico, oppure a quello di *patroni* o magistrati cittadini d'altissimo rango, addirittura direttamente imparentati con la famiglia imperiale: Lucio Domizio Enobarbo, *patronus* della colonia fra 16 e 12 a.C.; lo stesso Germanico che fu duoviro quinquennale a Butrinto fra 12 e 13 d.C.[31] Questi legami significativi e lo stesso tema delle origini troiane di Butrinto cantato dai poeti augustei attestano, alla pari di quanto sta emergendo dalle ultime indagini archeologiche, l'importanza della nuova città coloniale.

In effetti le recenti prospezioni geofisiche e i primi scavi nella piana di Vrina, al di là del canale di Vivari, hanno rivelato l'incontestabile presenza di un intero nuovo quartiere cittadino, in precedenza del tutto sconosciuto o quasi (cfr. Fig. 8.4). Si tratta con ogni probabilità di un diverso organismo caratterizzato da una pianta ortogonale regolare, a giudicare dai possibili tracciati stradali e dall'orientazione delle strutture murarie intercettate nelle prime trincee. Dunque una vera e propria addizione urbanistica in pianura, che andò a correlarsi, certamente attraverso ponti sul canale, all'antico centro costruito sulla e a ridosso della collina. I dati stratigrafici sembrano indicare il tardo I e l'inizio del II sec. d.C. come orizzonte cronologico per l'intero impianto, da interpretare come un'estensione pianificata e regolare successiva allo *status* di colonia augustea, estensione che poi avrà anch'essa una sua lunghissima storia, come il resto dell'abitato, con trasformazioni fino all'inoltrato medioevo. E' ancora presto per definire i caratteri di questa addizione: una sua possibile divisione in *vici* retti da *magistri* (attestati dall'epigrafia), partizioni funzionali, aree pubbliche e private ecc.[32] Al momento sono noti diversi impianti termali (essenziali per la nuova comunità cittadina composta prevalentemente da italici, è da presumere), forse edifici religiosi e celebrativi. Ma è utile osservare – nella nostra logica di una lettura in parallelo dei due centri urbani – che una simile addizione è da tempo nota anche a Fenice, pur non essendo in presenza qui di un intervento coloniale a tutti gli effetti come quello noto a Butrinto. Questa addizione di un nuovo quartiere ha le medesime caratteristiche: si realizza nella parte pianeggiante a sud/sud–est della collina, a fianco dell'antica necropoli ellenistica, poi utilizzata ininterrottamente in età romana almeno fino al III sec. d.C. Purtroppo ne sono noti soltanto brandelli non molto significativi, anche se la coerenza nell'orientamento delle murature superstiti entro il villaggio moderno di Finiq (che ne ha preso il posto, come già aveva osservato Luigi Ugolini a suo tempo) depone a favore, anche in questo caso, di un'addizione programmata e unitaria, almeno nella sua fase progettuale.[33]

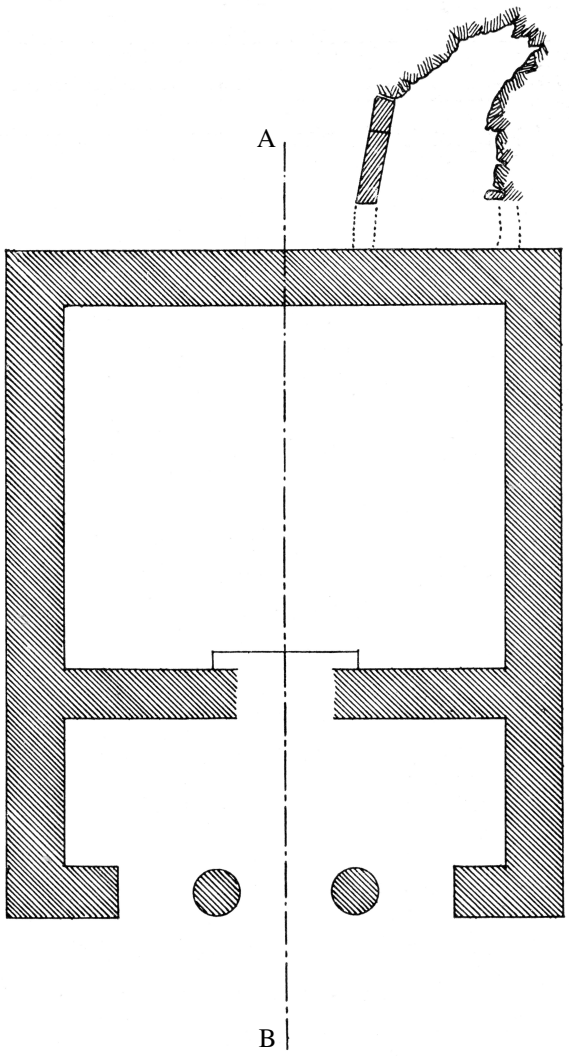

Fig. 10.10 Butrinto. Pianta della fase ellenistica del 'tempietto' di Asklepios (da Ugolini 1942).

Anche in questo le due città, pur con ruoli diversi nel corso del tempo, mostrano dunque un'evoluzione in certo senso comparabile. Il nuovo quartiere di Fenice doveva essere servito da un acquedotto, recentissimamente individuato per alcuni suoi tratti a nord–est della città, verso il corso del fiume del Bistriza, che doveva essere la fonte primaria di approvvigionamento d'acqua di questo quartiere pianeggiante, mentre la città alta continuava a essere rifornita mediante l'impiego di enormi cisterne (alcune delle quali impiantate già in età ellenistica), essendo priva di risorse proprie, cisterne già scavate da Ugolini nel 1926.[34] Come a Butrinto l'acquedotto (se di questo effettivamente si tratta nelle note rappresentazioni delle monete augustee e oltre, dove però potrebbe anche comparire un ponte o un viadotto) serve la città romana nel I o nel II sec. d.C., così a Fenice l'impianto è realizzato in funzione del nuovo quartiere ai piedi della collina, che deve essere interpretato non come uno spostamento dell'area abitata dal colle alla pianura, ma come un'addizione appunto, forse in rapporto con un

incremento di popolazione di cui al momento sfugge la natura e l'entità, nel silenzio assoluto di fonti storiche o epigrafiche, che difettano completamente a questo proposito. Che non si possa pensare a un totale spostamento dell'abitato lo dimostrano gli intensi lavori contemporanei sulla cima del colle, dunque nel cuore dell'antica città ellenistica: le già ricordate cisterne, la nuova fase del teatro, la costruzione di impianti termali, la continuità d'uso attestata negli scavi del quartiere di case ellenistiche, dove la vita prosegue senza soluzioni almeno fino all'inoltrato IV sec. d.C.[35]

E qui si pone il problema, essenziale, della cronologia di questa addizione nella pianura a sud del colle di Fenice. Se per la 'nuova Butrinto' i dati storici e stratigrafici soccorrono senza alcun dubbio nel definirne la cornice cronologica, per Fenice i dubbi restano, in mancanza di dati al momento non disponibili. L'analisi delle tecniche murarie presenti nelle costruzioni romane entro il villaggio di Finiq mostra una certa omogeneità: prevale una sorta di opera incerta con inserti regolari di alcuni corsi di laterizi (Fig. 10.11), tecnica che riscontriamo frequentemente anche negli edifici romani della collina (cisterna A, ad esempio), nei tratti noti dell'acquedotto e in diversi edifici romano–imperiali di Butrinto (ad esempio le terme nei pressi del teatro – Fig. 10.12). La tecnica è abbastanza tipica, in Epiro e nella Grecia settentrionale, del II sec. d.C., come hanno mostrato alcune indagini recenti.[36] Del resto questa cronologia viene comunemente accettata per le costruzioni dove tale tecnica è impiegata. Parrebbe dunque che la maggior parte degli edifici, noti sia pur parzialmente nella "Fenice bassa", sia stata eretta nei decenni centrali di questo secolo. Anche il vasto edificio con vani e portico a colonne laterizie, a più piani, scavato nel 2003 a est delle case ellenistiche della collina offre dati stratigrafici per collocarne la costruzione in questo lasso di tempo. La nuova scena del teatro viene da noi datata, al momento, alla seconda metà dello stesso secolo, se non agli inizi del III. La medesima frequenza di iniziative edilizie nel II sec. d.C. la si può osservare anche a Butrinto: probabilmente l'ultima fase della frontescena del teatro, la ricostruzione del 'tempietto' di Asklepios, le modificazioni alle già ricordate terme nei pressi del teatro, il probabile riassetto delle tre aule sul lato nord del *forum* (tra cui il cosiddetto "Tempio di Minerva"), la prima fase del cosiddetto ginnasio (probabilmente una costruzione di carattere privato), il ninfeo presso la basilica paleocristiana, la fontana di Iunia Ruphina e altri interventi ancora.[37]

Questa ricorrenza di iniziative monumentali, spesso di carattere pubblico oppure evergetico, nel II secolo deve far riflettere, sia per Fenice che per Butrinto. La spiegazione di questo intensificarsi di iniziative, che a Fenice possono aver comportato persino la realizzazione di un intero nuovo quartiere urbano in pianura, a sud della sede storica della città sull'altura, va a mio parere ricercata nell'istituzione della provincia di Epiro, che dobbiamo far risalire appunto agli anni a cavallo tra la

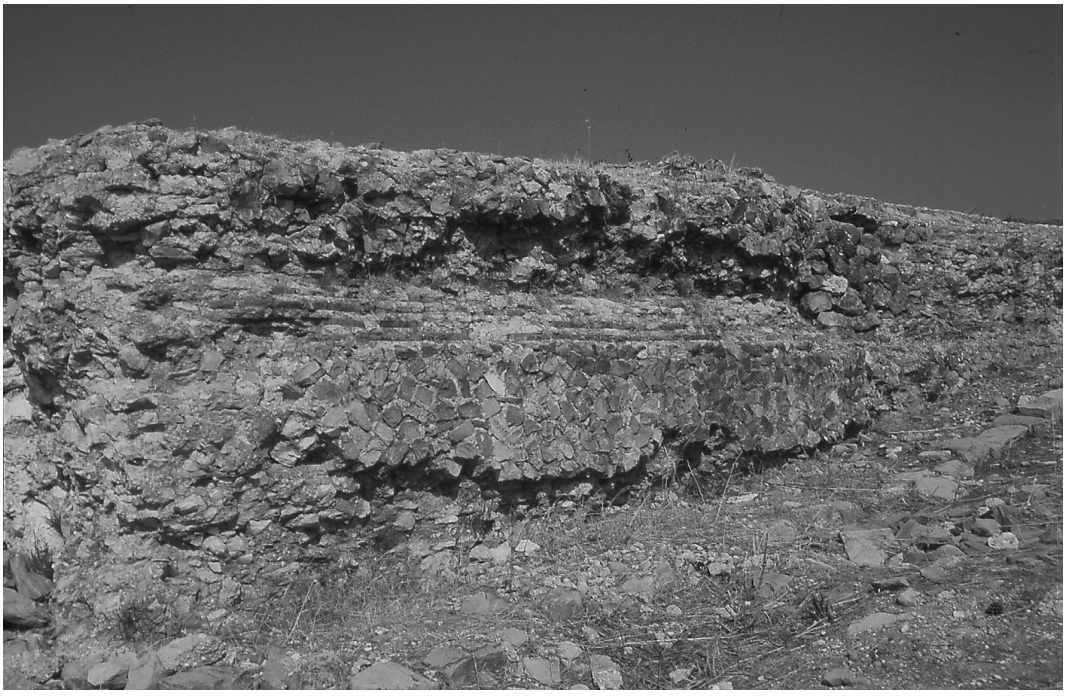

Fig. 10.11 Fenice. Cisterna A; muro est, in tecnica mista incerta e laterizi (MAIP)

fine del principato di Traiano e gli inizi di quello di Adriano (probabilmente nel 108, secondo Pierre Cabanes).[38] Il nuovo assetto dei territori e i benefici anche economici che il provvedimento ha sicuramente prodotto possono essere stati lo stimolo per rinnovare anche taluni assetti urbani o singoli monumenti, usufruendo di risorse economiche che potevano giungere direttamente dalle casse imperiali o dalle disponibilità dei nuovi magistrati preposti al governo di un territorio che in precedenza era stato aggregato alle province di Macedonia o di Achaia.

Per entrambe le città la millenaria storia urbana si conclude nel medioevo bizantino.[39] Butrinto, com'è ben noto, ha restituito testimonianze importantissime di questa sua fase storica e gli scavi recenti al palazzo cosiddetto del 'triconco' ne definiscono dettagliatamente le fasi nel corso dei secoli.[40] Il battistero scavato da Luigi Ugolini – il quale, non va dimenticato, aveva in animo di dedicare un intero volume della sua *Albania antica* alla Butrinto medievale, a testimoniare una volta di più l'ampiezza di orizzonti culturali e la sensibilità storica di questo insigne archeologo ingiustamente dimenticato (almeno fino al recente riesame dei suoi lavori svolti proprio a Fenice e a Butrinto) – il battistero, dicevo, comprende uno dei mosaici altomedievali più importanti dell'intero Epiro, e molto altro occorrerebbe ancora ricordare.[41] A fronte di tutto ciò, Fenice mostra un quadro assai meno monumentale e ricco. Nonostante già nel V secolo sia stata sede episcopale, gli edifici della Fenice bizantina appaiono ben più modesti, a cominciare dalla basilica scavata da Ugolini e che noi abbiamo iniziato a portare nuovamente in luce, frutto per lo più dell'impiego di materiali di spoglio e, purtroppo, assai mal conservata.[42] Ma ancora una volta le metamorfosi urbanistiche riescono istruttive: il sito più impervio e defilato di Fenice, lontano dai contatti diretti con le rotte marittime che Butrinto invece conservò nel corso dei secoli, così come le risorse derivanti dalle acque del lago, ne spiegano il ripiegamento e la contrazione. Che è ben percepibile nell'estensione dell'area urbana, ora raccolta nell'antica sede del settore orientale della città alta, dove, a dire di Procopio, Giustiniano fece riportare l'abitato sottraendolo definitivamente alle strutture della pianura realizzate a partire dal II secolo, come abbiamo visto, e che progressivamente si stavano rendendo inabitabili per l'inarrestabile impaludamento.[43] Un fenomeno, questo, ricorrente e ben documentato anche per altri centri dell'Epiro, anch'essi menzionati da Procopio. Più esteso, meno contratto, sembra l'abitato della Butrinto medievale, probabilmente più sparso in un'area di dimensioni maggiori. Se Butrinto, sempre grazie alla sua posizione, avrà una storia ancora più recente, legata agli scali della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia, Fenice, nell'interno, sembra non farne parte, se non sporadicamente. Fu forse un cittadino veneziano colui che, attorno alla metà del Trecento, perdette una moneta d'argento del doge Francesco Dandolo, quella moneta che poi noi abbiamo ritrovato pochi anni fa perlustrando la superficie antica della collina di Fenice?[44]

Fig. 10.12 Butrinto. Terme presso il teatro. Parete in tecnica mista incerta e laterizi (MAIP)

Note

1 Budina 1975; 1985; 1990. Per la monetazione: Gjongecaj 2005.
2 Ugolini 1942: 3–21; Hodges *et al* 1997: 207–17.
3 Ugolini 1932a: 75–82; De Maria 2002a: 13.
4 Per la genesi degli abitati: ad esempio Ceka 1990.
5 Ceka 2002: 19–22; Haxhis 1998. Si attende la preannunciata pubblicazione degli scavi greco-albanesi condotti per diversi anni alla sommità della collina dell'acropoli. Ecateo di Mileto *Fragmenta* 75; cfr. Ugolini 1942: 240 e nota 1.
6 Cesare *Bellum civile* 3.16; per le fonti storico-letterarie su Butrinto vedi Ugolini 1942: 240–59. A proposito del carteggio fra Cicerone e Attico che riguarda i possedimenti in Epiro di Attico (avviato nel 59 a.C.) vedi soprattutto Deniaux 1975; 1987. Per la villa di età repubblicana e imperiale di Diaporit, sul lago di Butrinto (purtroppo con possibilità assai remota di essere quella di Attico), vedi Bowden, Hodges e Lako 2002: 209–19; Bowden e Përzhita 2004a.
7 Cabanes 1998a.
8 Per le fonti storico-letterarie su Fenice di età greca e romana vedi Rambaldi 2003. Vedi in particolare Polibio 2.8.1–4. Per la raccolta commentata delle fonti di età medievale vedi Rambaldi 2005.
9 Si tratta dell'iscrizione che elenca le corone ottenute da Cassandro di Alessandria Troade: *Syll.*[3] 653 A n. 4, B n. 22; cfr. De Maria 2002a: 15–17. Procopio *de aedificiis* 4.1.37–39, a proposito dello spostamento dell'abitato, voluto da Giustiniano, dalla pianura di nuovo alla sommità del colle (vedi sotto).
10 Ugolini 1932a: 147–51.
11 L'iscrizione è inedita. Ne do notizia negli Atti del Convegno 2002 di Grenoble su Epiro e Illiria meridionale: De Maria 2004: 342. Vedi anche Ugolini 1942: 206–8 per un'inscrizione simile da Butrinto (prossenia dei *Prasaiboi*).
12 Virgilio *Eneide* 3.291–507; Ovidio *Metamorfosi* 13.719–24.
13 Su Fenice in età romana vedi le prime, acute osservazioni di Bogdani 2003.
14 Ugolini 1932a: 140–42, 216–17.
15 De Maria 2002a: 13–15; De Maria 2003c; De Maria e Giorgi 2002. Per il territorio cfr. Çondi 1984; Giorgi 2002b; Giorgi 2003a.
16 Fenice è menzionata fra le città raggiunte dai tearodochi di Argo attorno a 330 a.C.: Charneux 1966: 12; De Maria 2002a: 14 e nota 9. Per importanti dati stratigrafici rilevati nel quartiere di case ellenistiche vedi Podini 2003.
17 Per un primo esame delle tecniche murarie impiegate a Fenice vedi Giorgi 2003b: 128–33.
18 Le attività della Missione Archeologica Italiana anteguerra sono state recentemente ricostruite con grande precisione: De Maria 2002b; Gilkes 2003b; 2003c; 2004; c.d.s.; Gilkes e Miraj 2000. Un recente Convegno, tenutosi a Tirana nel maggio del 2004 per commemorare Léon Rey e gli ottanta anni degli scavi di Apollonia, ha dato occasione a chi scrive di tornare ancora sulla figura di Luigi di Ugolini e sul suo lavoro svolto a Fenice e a Butrinto, cfr. De Maria 2003–2004.
19 Per Fenice si vedano i tre rapporti preliminari finora pubblicati: De Maria e Gjongecaj 2002, 2003 e 2005. Inoltre: De Maria 2003a; De Maria 2003b; De Maria 2004; De Maria, Giorgi e Lepore 2003.
20 Cfr. anche Bergemann 1998: 18–46.
21 Ugolini 1942: 25–44; Karaiskaj 1983. Per Fenice: Ugolini 1932a: 25–73.
22 Ceka 2002: 53–54; Martin 2004. Vedi anche i contributi di J. Patterson, W. Bowden e I. Pojani in questo stesso volume.
23 Cfr. Gilkes 2003a; inoltre: Melfi, in questo stesso volume.
24 De Maria e Giorgi 2002.
25 Sul teatro di Fenice vedi per ora Villicich 2003 e Villich, Bogdani e Giannotti 2005.
26 Sulle possibili interpretazioni del teatro di Butrinto vedi recentemente Sear 2003 (con discussione delle ipotesi precedenti).
27 De Maria 2002c.
28 De Maria 2002c: 61. Per una nuova interpretazione dell'edificio di Butrinto vedi il contributo di M. Melfi in questo stesso volume (cfr. Fig. 2.2–3).
29 Polibio 2.8.1–4; per le monete: Gjongecaj 2002: 134.
30 Cabanes 1976: 399–423.
31 Deniaux 1993; 1998 e il suo saggio in questo stesso volume. Si vedano anche i due ritratti di Agrippa rinvenuti in diverse circostanze a Butrinto (Fig. 4.5 e 4.6), il primo da Luigi Ugolini davanti alla frontescena del teatro, il secondo nel dopoguerra nella zona della cosiddetta "torre delle iscrizioni": Bergemann 1998: 132, 161; Ugolini 1932b; Ugolini e Pojani 2003: 207–8. Forte dunque deve essere stato il legame fra la comunità civica e il grande generale di Augusto.
32 Deniaux 1998: 47–49 e il saggio già cit., in questo stesso volume.
33 Sulla città bassa di Fenice: Ugolini 1932a: 82–85; Giorgi 2002a.
34 L'acquedotto è stato individuato, per diversi segmenti sparsi nel territorio, da Giuseppe Pallotti (Pallotti 2004; 2005).
35 Bogdani 2003: 120–22.
36 Bogdani 2003: 122–24; Dodge 1987.
37 Il 'ginnasio' fu parzialmente scavato da Pirro Marconi al tempo della sua direzione della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Albania: sinteticamente Ceka 2002: 54–56; Martin 2004. Ninfeo: Martin 2004; Ugolini 1942: 81–90. Fontana di Iunia Ruphina: Ugolini 1942: 69–75.
38 Cabanes 1998b: 305–6; discussione in Bogdani 2003: 124–25.
39 In generale: Bowden 2003, attualmente il lavoro di riferimento per l'Epiro tardoantico e altomedievale.
40 Bowden, Hodges e Lako 2002: 201–9; Gilkes e Lako 2004; Hodges *et al.* 1997: 221–23.
41 Bowden e Përzhita 2004b; Hodges *et al*. 1997: 224–9; Mitchell 2004; Ugolini 1942: 239.
42 Su di essa vedi De Maria 2002a: 17; De Maria *et al*. 2005: 89–95; Ugolini 1932a: 123–33.
43 Cfr. nota 9 e Bowden 2003: 14.
44 De Maria 2001: 28–29.

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11 Butrint and Nicopolis: Urban Planning and the 'Romanization' of Greece and Epirus

William Bowden

Introduction

In recent years the word "Romanization" has started to show a tendency to appear in inverted commas, denoting the writer's awareness of the increasing academic ambivalence towards the term, with its overly simplistic connotations of a unitary political and cultural hegemony.[1] Indeed, a number of scholars now advocate abandoning both term and concept altogether, seeing them as impeding better understanding of the myriad of cultural processes that accompanied Roman political expansion. Nonetheless, the concept of Romanization continues to generate debate, as archaeologists and historians discuss the impact (or lack thereof) of Roman expansion on the social and political structures and populations that existed in Rome's provinces prior to their incorporation into the Roman sphere. The debate is traditionally framed in terms in which the appearance of 'Roman' architecture and material culture denotes an acceptance of Roman rule (or, indeed, a positive enthusiasm for it), and conversely an absence of Roman features signifies its rejection.[2] Romanization has long been a focus in Europe, where the extent to which Roman heritage has been embraced or denied has tended to mirror the imperial ambitions or sense of nationhood of the countries in question. In Britain, France, Spain and Germany, for example, the extent of Roman cultural dominance has been reassessed to encompass the survival of indigenous identities, and 'Roman' and 'native' are now seen as much more flexible categories than previously.[3]

Romanization, therefore, is an ideologically loaded term and concept, relating as much to present day social and political identities as to any ancient cultural process. Nowhere is this more so than in Greece and Albania. In Greece, the Romans' own ambiguous relationship to the Greece of Classical antiquity, in combination with a more recent, yet equally heady, brew of post-Ottoman nationalism and European Philhellenism, has meant that study of the Roman annexation of the province carries more ideological baggage than usual. In Albania, meanwhile, Enver Hoxha's communist government sought to downplay the extent of external involvement in the country's history in a way that continues to affect study of the area today. It is not my intention to retread this ground here, but it is nonetheless important to recognise the extent to which the Roman presence has been accommodated, downplayed, or ignored entirely by scholars in both areas.[4]

The parameters of the debate, regarding how a process of Romanization might be reflected in the built environment, change from province to province. In Britain, for example, the 'urban' (or otherwise) nature of the *oppida* captured by Vespasian is much discussed, but there can be little doubt that the towns of Roman Britain were significantly different to the settlements that existed before the 1st century AD. In Greece the debate must necessarily cover different ground: by the time that the Roman colonies were founded within Achaea and Epirus, both Rome and Greece had several centuries of urbanism, elements of which had developed either in parallel or from common origins, thus blurring the lines between what may be considered 'Greek' and what may be considered 'Roman'.

There can be little doubt that the relationship of Greece to Rome was that of a subject population, albeit one that was perceived to have a rich cultural heritage to which Rome considered itself indebted – a factor that lent a further degree of complexity to the relationship between conquerors and conquered. There can also be little doubt that, on certain levels at least, and particularly from the Augustan age onwards, the Roman concept of the city was a physical one – the virtues of a town are demonstrated by enumerating the quantity and splendour of its public buildings, rather than the qualities of its inhabitants.[5] Consequently the impact of Rome on the towns of Greece is likely to have had a physical aspect, with the relationship between Rome and its subject province played out in bricks and mortar.

The ideology behind the form of the newly established towns has also been the subject of debate, particularly over the extent to which the new foundations were modelled on the Eternal City itself, or in which aspects they were intended to resemble Rome. Indeed, it has been a commonly held view that Rome's colonies took elements of the urban form of the capital and used them as a medium to disseminate aspects of *romanitas*. Elizabeth Fentress suggests that viewed within this paradigm, "the Roman town created a *habitus*, to use Bourdieu's term, which formed and informed the growth of a Roman citizen".[6] The idea of the city as an implement of the process of civilization has fallen from favour along with the more colonialist views of Romanization, but nonetheless the ideological importance of the urban form and its relationship with Rome itself continue to be acknowledged, albeit in a more nuanced fashion than previously.

The province of Epirus, which is now bisected by the modern border between Greece and Albania, forms fertile ground for these debates. The region formed the backdrop for the events of 31 BC, which shaped the future of the Roman world, and in the aftermath of Actium it saw the establishment of Augustus's victory city of Nicopolis. The 'Greek' or 'Roman' nature of Nicopolis has been the subject of considerable debate, with most authors firmly declaring the essentially Greek character of Augustus's foundation, reminiscent as it was of the city-founding activities of Hellenistic kings such as Alexander.[7] However, Nicopolis, together with the Augustan colonies at Butrint and Patras, the Caesarean colony at Corinth, and possible Caesarean colonies at Dyme and Byllis, represent the most obvious impact of Roman settlement in Epirus and Achaea. Consequently, it is reductive to view these foundations solely in terms of their debt to one cultural tradition or another. Instead, they should be viewed as dynamic responses to a complex and ever changing political and social situation. This is particularly true of Nicopolis where triumphalism associated with Actium had to be reconciled with the ambivalence towards Octavian's victory felt by many sections of Roman society (not least the members of the Roman aristocracy who already had significant land-holdings in the area). The fact that Octavian had triumphed in civil war meant that overt celebration of the victory would have been entirely unacceptable at the time (and indeed in official praise for Octavian the battle was portrayed as a victory over Egyptian forces).[8] Hence a delicate balance had to be struck in order to establish a victory city in a way that was acceptable to contemporary audiences.

To understand the colony at Butrint, we must attempt to examine it in light of what we know about Nicopolis. Butrint is inextricably linked with the foundation of Nicopolis, and, indeed, the historical and archaeological significance of the town lies partly in the association with Augustus's victory city. This is not least because Nicopolis could be seen as a microcosm of what Augustus envisaged the Roman city to be at a crucial point in the formation of the Roman world. Indeed, we might expect Nicopolis to represent an urban ideal of the age of Augustus, a period that saw the development of what has been described as a "material culture of empire".[9] However, the physical reality of Nicopolis suggests an altogether more complex situation. At the outset, therefore, it seems opportune to outline what we know of the built environment of Augustan Nicopolis, and to attempt to identify differences and similarities between Nicopolis and its more modest neighbour to see to what extent one may shed light on the other.

Nicopolis

Roads, sanctuaries and urban planning

First, and perhaps most fundamentally, Nicopolis was built on an open site, a *tabula rasa*, giving its builders the opportunity to construct the town that they wanted. Given that the city planners thus had a free hand, the topography of Nicopolis is rather curious (Fig. 11.1). It was certainly influenced by the location of the Actium Monument, the *tropaeum* erected on the site of Octavian's campsite, which has recently been the subject of extensive excavations.[10] The monument occupies a dominant position overlooking the plain on which the city is located, and faces due south-west. The city itself was laid out on a grid plan, with the *cardo maximus* approximately aligned on the Actium Monument, indicated by a large gateway in the north section of the Roman city wall, and the position and layout of the northern cemetery.[11] The *cardo* has not been traced within the city, and its point of exit to the south is also unknown. Interestingly, however, the principal known gate on the southern side lies at some distance to the east (at the point where the main road from Preveza enters the site) (Fig. 11.2). The known elements of the south cemetery are grouped around this gate, while major monumental tombs can be seen along the road to Preveza, suggesting that this was the principal route to the south. This road led to the city's main harbour on the Ambracian Gulf, suggested by the Boston University Nicopolis Survey team to be at the point known as Ormos Vathy (literally "deep harbour").[12]

The *decumanus maximus*, meanwhile, followed the line subsequently taken by the southern section of the late antique city wall, with the western entrance to the city later marked by a monumental nymphaeum (Fig. 11.3). It then continued to the west towards the Ionian Sea, although there is no safe anchorage along this coast, and presumably connected with the main coastal road. The course of the *decumanus* to the east is unknown, although it presumably led to a port or quayside on the Ambracian Gulf to the east of the city. It is likely, however, that shallow water in this area also meant that it was unsuitable for larger vessels. The *decumanus* is likely to have then veered slightly to the south to continue along the Hagios Thomas peninsula.

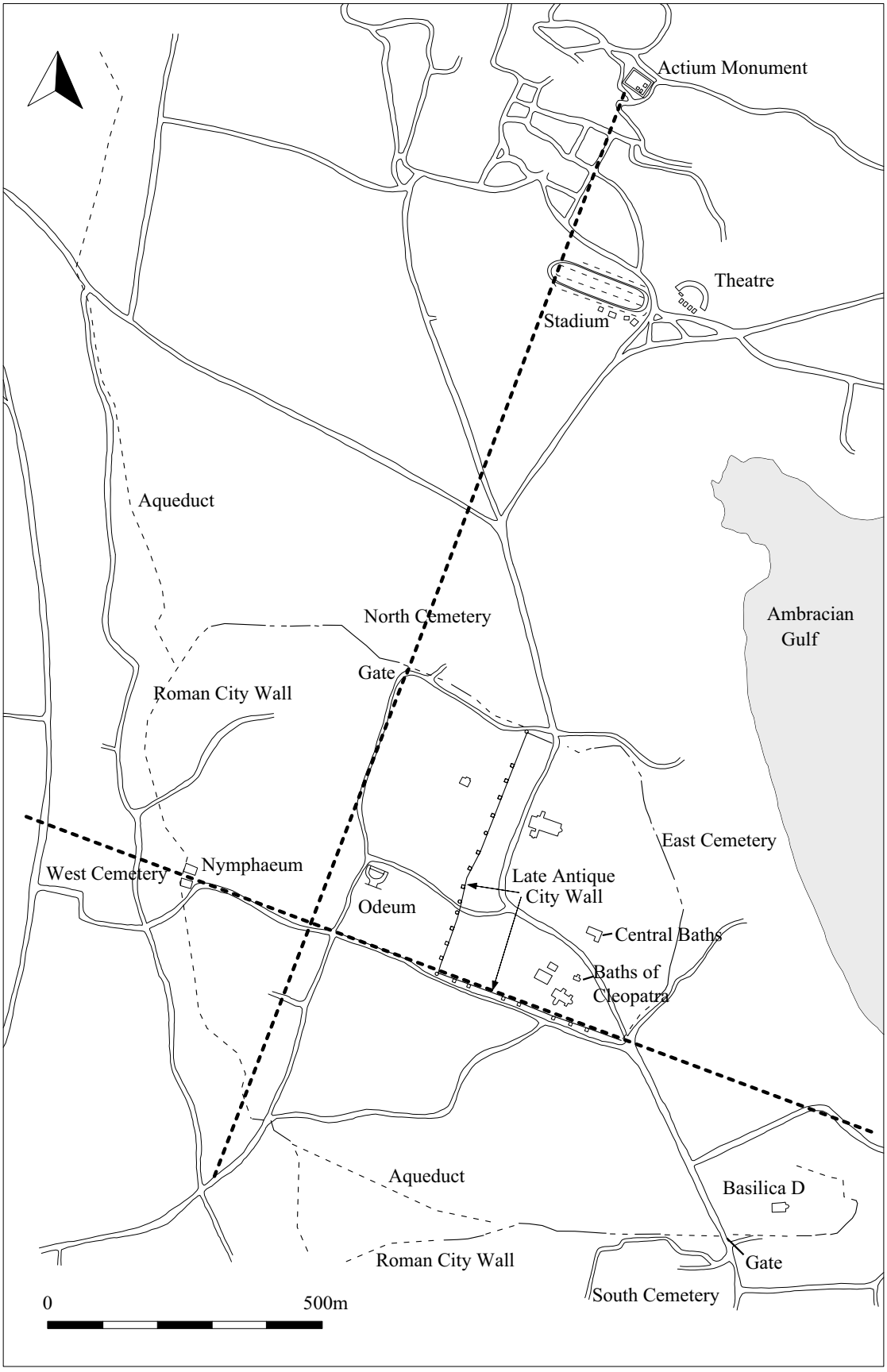

Fig. 11.1 Schematic plan of Nicopolis showing postulated position of the cardo maximus and decumanus maximus (mainly after Pierrepont-White 1986–87)

Fig. 11.2 Gateway in the Roman city wall at Nicopolis (W. Bowden)

Fig. 11.3 Nymphaeum at the western entrance to Nicopolis (W. Bowden)

This road layout resulted in a rather awkward arrangement in which neither of the city's principal roads led to the main destination to the south east: the city's harbour town at Ormos Vathy. There is no obvious reason for the city to be positioned on precisely this alignment – if it had been orientated directly on the Actium Monument the street grid would have run from NE to SW instead of NNE to SSW as is actually the case – unless the alignment reflects that of an earlier road from Ambracia to Actium, which has been incorporated into the layout of Nicopolis. The adoption of a rigid orthogonal plan with two axial roads seemingly reflects the requirements of the city's planners more than the topographic restraints imposed by the location, in that it is only on the northern and possibly western sides that the principal roads appear to go in directions that would suit the needs of the inhabitants. The city, in other words, required a *cardo* and a *decumanus*, whether or not they actually went anywhere.

The two axial roads therefore reflect the internal rather than external needs of the city. They were the means by which Nicopolis was symbolically linked to Rome, and presumably the means by which its public spaces were delineated. The intersection of the *cardo* and *decumanus* was presumably the site of the forum (although thus far this has not been located at Nicopolis), and it is possible that the *cardo* existed primarily to provide a link between the forum/*capitolium* and the Actium Monument. Consequently its southern section (beyond the putative forum) would have been of lesser importance.

It is particularly unfortunate that the forum of Nicopolis remains unknown and unexcavated, since it would allow us to best comprehend the relationship between political and sacred space in the city. Combining sacred and political space within the city has been highlighted by Paul Zanker as a specifically Roman concept, differing significantly from that adopted within the Classical and Hellenistic *polis*, in which political space was clearly defined and separated from the principal sanctuaries and cult areas of the city. In many Roman cities the forum was dominated by the *capitolium*, creating an explicit link between religious and political life. In the Greek *polis* the principal sanctuaries were often situated at some distance from the *agora* (sometimes outside the city itself). They served as places where men, women, slaves, children, and foreigners met and participated in religious life irrespective of their position in social or political hierarchies. In the Roman town, however, both political and religious society was highly stratified, dominated by members of an aristocracy who combined both secular and religious roles in a way that rendered them inseparable.[13]

If Nicopolis, therefore, was the Roman city *par excellence*, which given its founder and the event that it commemorates could be considered a reasonable supposition, then we might expect the city's principal sanctuaries to be located around the forum and its associated *capitolium*. However, while the forum itself remains an unknown entity, it is clear that the principal cult areas at Nicopolis lay outside the city. Strabo describes the city thus:

> Nicopolis is populous, and its numbers are increasing daily, since it not only has a considerable territory and the adornment taken from the spoils of battle, but also, in its suburbs, the thoroughly equipped sacred precinct – one part of it being in a sacred grove that contains a gymnasium and a stadium for the celebration of the quinquennial games, the other part being on the hill that is sacred to Apollo and lies above the grove.[14]

The "hill that is sacred to Apollo" is that on which the Actium Monument is located, below which can be found a stadium, the theatre (Fig. 11.4) and other structures identified rather loosely as a gymnasium on the basis of Strabo's description. This area lies almost 800 m north of the north gate, along a road lined by tombs (Fig. 11.5).[15] It is thus clearly positioned in a way that separates it physically from the political heart of the city in a way that is clearly more reminiscent of Classical and Hellenistic sanctuaries. However, it is perhaps of note that the sanctuary precinct is still directly connected to the forum by the *cardo* (assuming that the forum lies at the junction of the *cardo* and *decumanus* as described above). An explicit visual link is created between the sacred area and the political heart of the city, while the route from forum to sanctuary is marked by funerary monuments that emphasise individual status and identity. This route may have been further emphasised by colonnades lining the street.[16] Thus the sanctuary area is tied into the hierarchical social and political structure of the town itself, in a way that is reminiscent of the "specifically Roman" intertwining of sacred and political space described by Zanker.[17]

The location of the principal sanctuary outside the town, yet still connected to its political heart, could be considered as an attempt to achieve a delicate balance between the ideological needs of Rome and the cultural expectations of a non-Italian populace. However, the apparent transfer of the Actian games to the new city, as well as related cults of Apollo from Leucas and Ambracia (presumably accompanying their populations who were relocated as part of Nicopolitan synoecism) suggests that catering to local sensibilities was limited. This much is indicated by Pausanias who describes Augustus's redistribution of cult objects in the aftermath of Actium, including the transferral of the cult of Artemis Laphria from Kalydon to the new colony at Patras.

> For after Kalydon with the rest of Aetolia had been laid waste by the emperor Augustus in order that the Aetolian people might be incorporated into Nicopolis above Actium, the people of Patrae thus secured the image of Laphrian Artemis. Most of the images out of Aetolia and from Acarnania were brought by Augustus' orders to Nicopolis, but to Patrae he gave, with other spoils from Kalydon, the image of Laphria, which even in my time was still worshipped on the acropolis of Patrae.[18]

Fig. 11.4 The theatre at Nicopolis (W. Bowden)

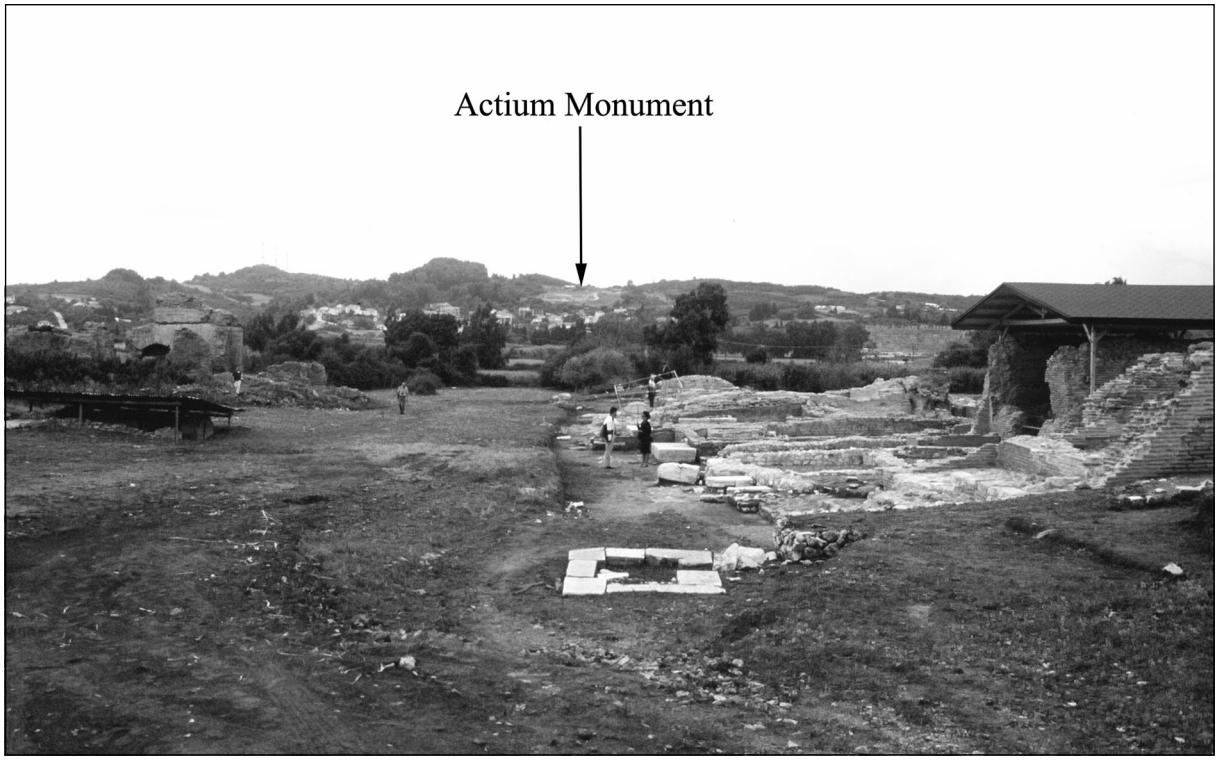

Fig. 11.5 View through the northern cemetery at Nicopolis looking towards Actium Monument (W. Bowden)

At Nicopolis and Patras, therefore, cult objects were moved, and incorporated into the city itself. At Butrint, a slightly different approach was apparently adopted whereby the Forum and *capitolium* (the latter has yet to be identified with certainty), was introduced into the city's principal sanctuary area – that of Asclepius. In all three cases, however, an explicit link is constructed between political life and sacred space, although at Nicopolis this link traverses the walls of the city.

Walls

The Roman walls of Nicopolis follow an irregular course that bears little relationship to the orthogonal street plan of the town (Fig. 11.1). The line of the wall has been traced on all sides of the city, with the exception of a curious section on the east side, where the wall doglegs to the east to encompass the low hill later occupied by Basilica D. It follows the contours of this hill before turning west, presumably to eventually join the length of wall that formed the eastern section of the smaller late antique circuit. To the west and southwest, meanwhile, the wall shares the course of the city's aqueduct (described below), while to the north it broadly follows the uppermost contour of the low rise upon which the city was built. The reasons for the wall's rather erratic course, particularly to the southeast, are clearly fundamental for understanding the city's topography. It has now been shown to date to the Augustan period, although its irregular plan means that we cannot be certain that it was part of the original plan for the city.[19]

The wall encircled a vast area, far too large for any practical defensive purpose (and indeed it is not certain whether it was ever a complete circuit), and was probably intended both as a status symbol and as a symbolic boundary that defined the city both physically and metaphorically. Throughout antiquity walls were a common artistic and literary *topos* through which cities were represented, and it is likely that at Nicopolis, defining the urban space and providing it with a visual identity was more important than defence, which in any case merited little consideration during this period.[20]

Public buildings

As well as the stadium and the theatre located in the extra-mural sanctuary area described above, which notwithstanding any later alterations probably belong to the original Augustan layout, Nicopolis has a number of other public buildings, some of which were probably part of the original city plan.[21] These include the odeum (Fig. 11.6) and the three large sets of public baths (the Central Baths, the Baths of Cleopatra, and the Proasteion Baths). That the city possessed other impressive monumental structures is also indicated by the *spolia* utilised in its late antique buildings, particularly basilica B, which contains large quantities of architectural sculpture including marble panels from coffered ceilings.[22]

Fig. 11.6 The odeum at Nicopolis (W. Bowden)

Of these buildings the odeion is thought to date to the Augustan period (based on the presence of a capital of this date), with later additions in the 2nd century AD.[23] Patras also possessed an odeum of which the date is unknown.[24] The baths at Nicopolis are also undated, although based on their construction technique Johannes Bergemann has suggested that the Baths of Cleopatra and the Proasteion Baths both originate in the Augustan period, together with the complex of cisterns known as the "Vayienia" (Fig. 11.7).[25] The building technique in question (a type of *opus incertum*) also appears in Butrint in structures suggested by Bergemann to date to the period of the colony, although it should be noted that where this technique was used in the bath complex at the villa of Diaporit (Fig. 11.8), it has been securely dated to the second half of the 1st century or the early years of the 2nd century AD.[26] At Nicopolis the baths certainly contain elements later than the Augustan period (such as a probable 4th-century pavement from the Baths of Cleopatra), and in the case of the Central Baths doubts have been expressed as to whether it is a bath complex at all, although this remains the most likely identification.[27]

Thus we do not know to what extent, if any, these buildings date to the Augustan period; however, it is probable that the early city was furnished with public baths supplied with water by the aqueduct which tapped the springs of the Louros river some 40 km away (Fig. 11.9). Like the baths, the aqueduct is undated, although is considered to date to the reign of Augustus with later refurbishment during the reign of Hadrian.[28] Certainly, Augustus was a prolific builder of aqueducts and it is likely that Nicopolis would have been provided with a suitably ostentatious supply of water.[29] As well as the aqueduct at Butrint (see below), a further example is known from Patras. Both are thought to be of Augustan date, although on grounds as circumstantial as those on which the Nicopolis aqueduct is dated.

If the extra-mural sanctuary area was more reminiscent of the Hellenistic *polis*, then this impressive water supply and the monumental public baths that it serviced were quintessentially Roman in character. As Zanker puts it, referring to grandiose leisure buildings in general, "the very existence of these buildings and the enjoyments they offered were the emperors' and patrons' guarantee of a new standard of living".[30]

In terms of grandiose architecture for the entertainment of the masses, one of the most conspicuous absences at Nicopolis is an amphitheatre, of which some trace would have surely survived had such a structure been present. Amphitheatres are rare in Greece as a whole, although Patras acquired an amphitheatre courtesy of Domitian to celebrate the centenary of the colony, while a further example is known from Corinth, which is thought to be part of the original laying out of the Caesarean colony.[31]

It is possible that such a structure existed at Nicopolis and was built in wood (as has been speculated for the superstructure of the Corinth amphitheatre), but the

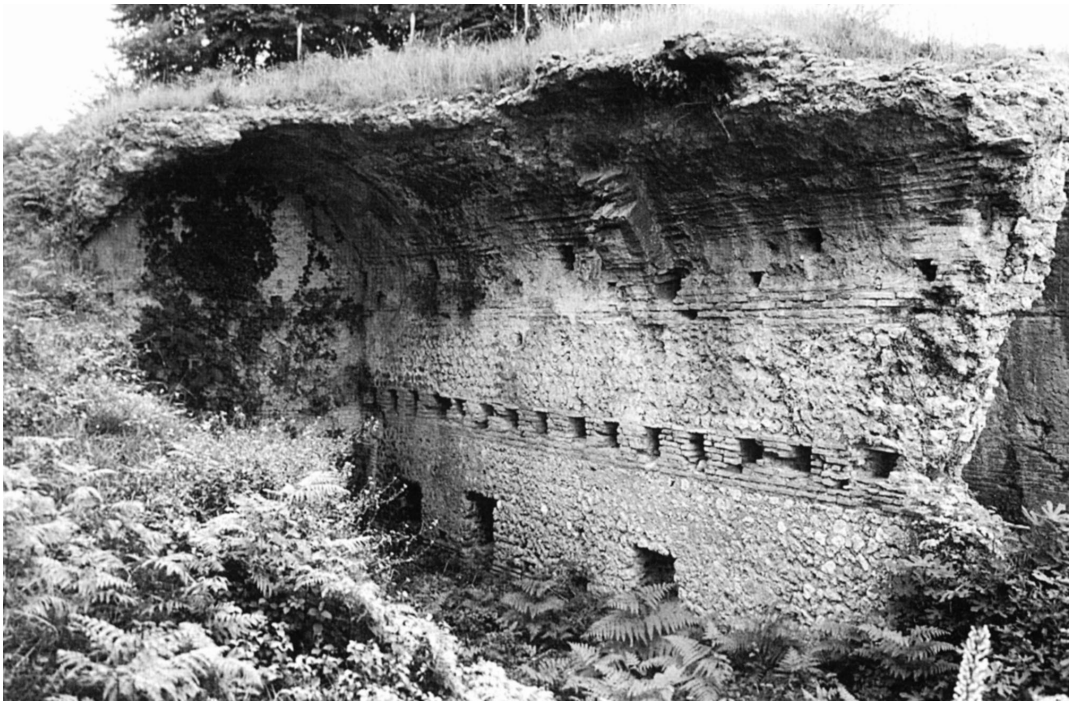

Fig. 11.7 The "Vayienia" cistern complex at Nicopolis (after Bergemann 1998)

Fig. 11.8 Example of opus incertum *from Diaporit (BF)*

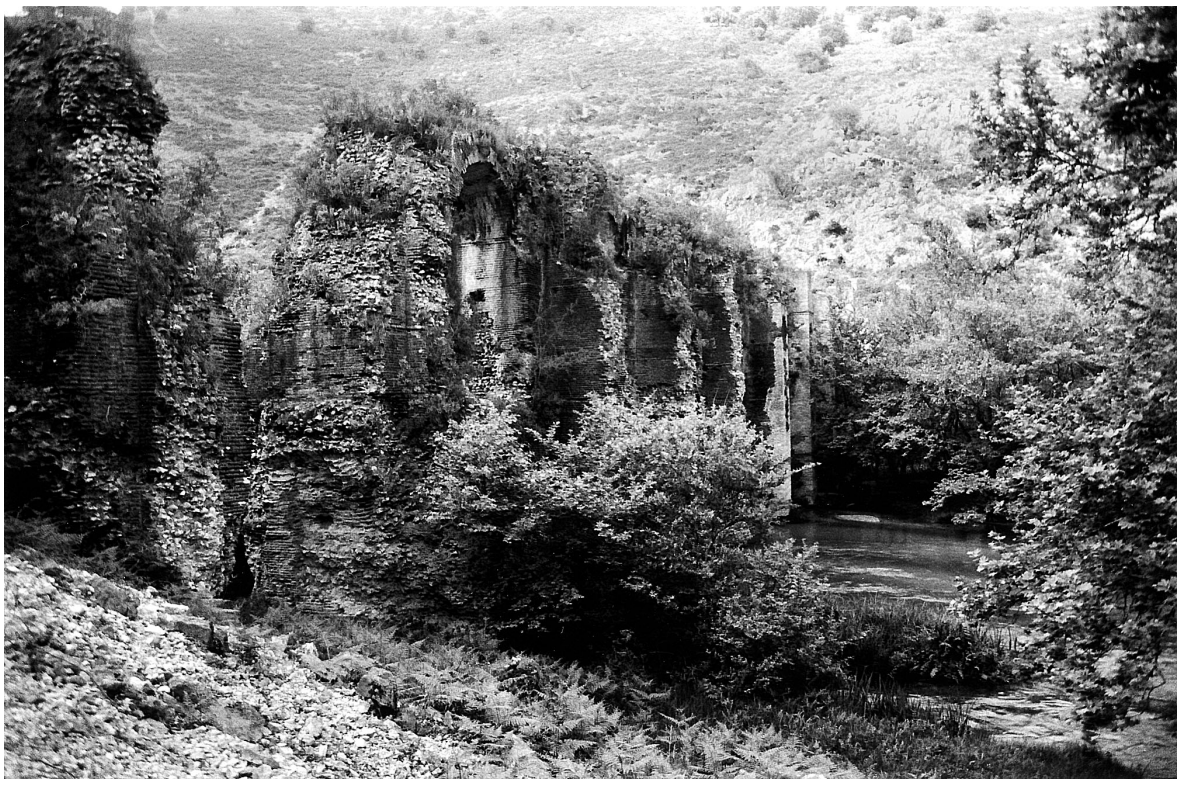

Fig. 11.9 The aqueduct at Nicopolis (W. Bowden)

monumental nature of the rest of Augustan Nicopolis suggests that this is unlikely and that the absence of an amphitheatre was deliberate and significant. Like Patras, Nicopolis had a dual status in that as well as being a *civitas libera* populated through the synoecism, it was also conceived as a destination for veteran soldiers, and as such might be expected to have an amphitheatre, as these buildings were characteristic of Augustan colonies.[32] Indeed an amphitheatre was a notable feature of Augustus's 'other' Nicopolis, founded some 3 miles to the east of Alexandria, where religious activities and precincts associated with the great amphitheatre and stadium are described by Strabo as having a detrimental effect on the traditional cults of Alexandria.[33]

The reason for the lack of an amphitheatre at Nicopolis may partly lie in the negative feelings held by sections of the Greek population (in particular the intellectual upper classes) toward amphitheatres and gladiatorial spectacles, which were held to have a polluting effect on cities and their sanctuaries.[34] Equally, unlike other Roman public buildings, amphitheatres had no Greek antecedent, and were associated implicitly with a Roman civic identity – this, at least, is the explanation that Katherine Welch advances for the unusual presence of the amphitheatre at Corinth. She suggests that it was built as part of the Caesarean colony "as an indication that the dominant element of the population was now Roman".[35] The absence of an amphitheatre at Nicopolis should therefore be seen both as a deliberate element of the Augustan design and as recognition of the delicate relationship between the city and the Actian games, whose religious aspects may have been compromised by the close proximity of gladiatorial spectacles.

The extent of the occupied area

As described above, the Roman wall circuit at Nicopolis encloses a substantial area (a total of more than 120 hectares). However, it is not clear to what extent (or to what density) this area was actually occupied. Archaeological exploration within the walled area has concentrated on areas where there is standing masonry or where structures have been disturbed by agricultural activity, and thus there is not yet a representative sample of the archaeological stratigraphy from different parts of the walled area. However, it is noticeable that the excavated areas around Basilica A (and therefore very close to the *decumanus maximus*) show very little in the way of stratified archaeological deposits beneath those associated with the construction of the early Christian church. It seems, therefore, that a relatively central area of the town may not have been densely occupied throughout the Roman period, and it is possible that a number of areas of the town were not occupied continuously after it was laid out, a situation analogous to that noted on the Vrina Plain at Butrint. However, the absence of published dating material from Nicopolis means that this hypothesis remains to be tested.

The landscape

Although we know relatively little about the town of Nicopolis we are in a slightly better position regarding its surroundings, thanks to the work of Panayiotis Doukellis on the cadastral land division and the Nikopolis Survey, which was carried out in the hinterland of the town by Boston University in collaboration with the 12th Ephoreia.

Doukellis identified a system of centuriation aligned on the principal axes of the town (described above), based on a module of 20 x 40 *actus* (707 × 1414 m), which extended to the south and also to the east along the Margarona peninsula (Fig. 11.10). He also noted evidence of centuriation on the plain of Arta (based on a 20 × 20 *actus* grid), which is likely to be contemporary with the foundation of Nicopolis and the annexing of Ambracia and its territory for the new city.[36] A further programme of centuriation was carried out at Patras and is thought to be associated with the foundation of the Augustan colony.[37] Indeed, a particular characteristic of the Augustan settlements of Nicopolis and Patras was that they were granted vast territories of which many elements were considerably removed from the city itself: Nicopolis was granted the territories of other Aetolian cities together with the *koinon* of the Akarnanians (the latter grant occurring during the reign of Nero). A 20 × 20 *actus* grid was also laid out around the city of Dyme in the northwestern Peloponnese at the time when it was absorbed into the territory of Patras, replacing a Caesarean scheme of centuriation. At Dyme and on the plain of Arta, the centuriation also involved the digging of substantial drainage ditches.[38]

These programmes of land organisation worked on both practical and ideological levels. As well as providing land for colonists (both veterans and civilians), they helped with the dismantling of existing local power structures (Patras had supported Anthony during the civil war), and provided a tangible reminder of the power of the Roman state. Equally, the division of the landscape into regular ordered sections, in association with major urban building programmes, was a means by which power was demonstrated through the bringing of order to the chaos of the natural landscape. The major drainage schemes enacted around Dyme and Ambracia (and probably around Butrint) may also be seen in this light – part of what Purcell has described as a "rhetoric of majesty" in which nature itself was altered.[39]

It is probable, then, that the landscape around Nicopolis and Patras saw a fundamental reorganization with the establishment of the Augustan colonies, and it is likely that Butrint saw a similar programme of cadastral land division. However, the impact of this activity on patterns of settlement and land use is not clear; indeed, the results of field surveys in the hinterland of Patras and Nicopolis suggest that the effects of the *synoecism* and land reorganization were subject to highly localised variation.[40]

Fig. 11.10 Centuriation at Nicopolis (after Doukellis 1988)

At Nicopolis there is no data yet available relating to precise numbers of Hellenistic sites noted by the survey team. However, it is clear that occupation of the hinterland of Nicopolis during the Roman period was relatively dense, with some 36 sites dating to between the 1st century BC and 3rd century AD noted by the survey.[41] While this broad date range does not allow for any precise correlation between the survey evidence and the establishment of Nicopolis (with its accompanying land organisation), at the very least it seems that the environs of Nicopolis differ from other areas of Greece, where survey has shown a sparsely occupied Hellenistic and early Roman landscape contrasting with that of the later Roman period.[42]

The evidence from Patras, however, allows us to refine this picture slightly. Here, survey demonstrated a significant increase in site numbers between the Hellenistic period (34 sites) and the Roman period (64 sites). The increase is more marked when it is noted that only 17 of the 64 Roman sites had been occupied in the Hellenistic period, with the remainder being new foundations.[43] Perhaps more importantly (at least in the context of this paper) many of these new Roman foundations date from the mid 1st century AD and later, a period which is also accompanied by a marked increase in imports noted within the town itself. Therefore it is more that 60 years after the foundation of the colony that significant change can be seen in rural settlement at Patras, suggesting that any increase in site numbers at Nicopolis may not be associated with the establishment of the town itself, and emphasising the need to refine the broad bands of periodization utilised in many field survey projects. Equally, as we shall see, the mid 1st-century and later expansion at Patras is also apparently mirrored at Butrint.

Butrint

Given their contemporaneous date, certain aspects of Butrint and its surroundings gain by being examined in light of what we know or may surmise about Augustan Nicopolis and the other Augustan colonies. At Butrint, relatively little survives that can be specifically dated to the Augustan period, with the possible exception of sections of the aqueduct, as most of the extant traces of public monuments probably reflect later modifications. However, something of the layout of the Augustan period city (and its relationship with the earlier urban fabric) may be discerned both from subsequent buildings and also those that survive from earlier periods.

Roads, sanctuaries and urban planning

At first sight, Butrint appears to have little in common with Nicopolis in terms of the ways in which the existing settlement was adapted to meet the needs of the colony (see Fig 1.3). We know very little of the roads within the Augustan city, and it now seems increasingly likely that the grid plan identified by a geophysical survey on the Vrina Plain (or at least the buildings erected within this grid plan) dates to a later period.[44]

Nonetheless the establishment of the colony had a significant impact on the urban space. This can be most clearly seen in the area of the sanctuary of Asclepius (cf. Fig 2.1), where the Hellenistic city wall was removed to make way for a series of public buildings, including the so-called gymnasium, and probably the Forum (immediately to the south of a monumental Tripartite building situated at the base of the acropolis) (Fig. 11.11, cf. Fig 5.10).[45] The presence of a substantial inscription recording the dedication of a shrine to Minerva in the central room of the Tripartite building associated with a large statue base, has led to the suggestion that this might be the *capitolium*.[46]

The Forum, identified in excavations in 2005, lay in close proximity to the religious heart of the town – the sanctuary of Asclepius that was a major factor in the town's prosperity – thereby creating the link between cult and civic space described above in relation to Nicopolis and Patras.

The topography of the city was altered by the insertion of the so-called gymnasium, which necessitated the removal of a stretch of the Hellenistic city wall. The date of the gymnasium is unknown, although the earlier parts of the complex utilise the type of *opus incertum* masonry that has been dated to the later 1st and 2nd centuries at nearby Diaporit. However, some indication as to the date of the demolition of the wall is provided by the so-called "Tower of Inscriptions", where a series of blocks inscribed with manumission acts were reused in a tower that was apparently built to act as a monumental *terminus* for the

Fig. 11.11 Tripartite building at Butrint (BF)

surviving stretch of the city wall. The latest of the inscriptions dates to the mid 1st century BC, providing a *post quem* date for the tower's construction (see below).[47] The formal boundaries of the city were significantly altered by these insertions through the city wall circuit, while the Forum would have sat directly on the line of the so-called Sacred Way, the colonnaded street that passed in front of the theatre. The width of the Sacred Way was further reduced by the construction of the stage of the theatre (see below). The date of the present stage and *scaenae frons* are a matter of dispute, with suggested dates ranging from the foundation of the colony to the 2nd century AD.[48] There are also traces of a precursor to the present structure, which may be associated with the foundation of the colony.[49]

The principal entrances into the town were maintained and in some cases elaborated. Of particular interest is the treatment of the "Tower Gate", a monumental towered gate of the Hellenistic period, which apparently survived as a feature within the city throughout the Roman period (Fig. 11.12). As one of the most substantial gates on the Hellenistic circuit, it clearly marked a major entrance into the city, presumably opening onto the principal port of the Hellenistic town. It was this point that was chosen as the principal entrance into the Roman city when a large bridge was built across the Vivari Channel, carrying both the aqueduct and the road that linked the town to the main road that ran between Nicopolis and Aulon. This bridge was a substantial engineering feat, spanning a considerable stretch of water (at least 200 m), and must have had a significant impact, both visually and symbolically, emphasising the fact that Butrint was no longer just a small port, but was connected by road to the wider entity of the Roman world.

Public buildings

As well as carrying the road, the bridge carried the aqueduct, which entered the city at the same point, possibly terminating in a large cistern complex somewhere in the region of the later Great Basilica. The supply of copious quantities of water, primarily for conspicuous public use in the form of bath-houses and fountains, is essentially a Roman innovation, and was a key feature of a number of Roman towns in Greece and Epirus, including Nicopolis and Patras as described above. Some towns such as Corinth and Athens do not appear to have

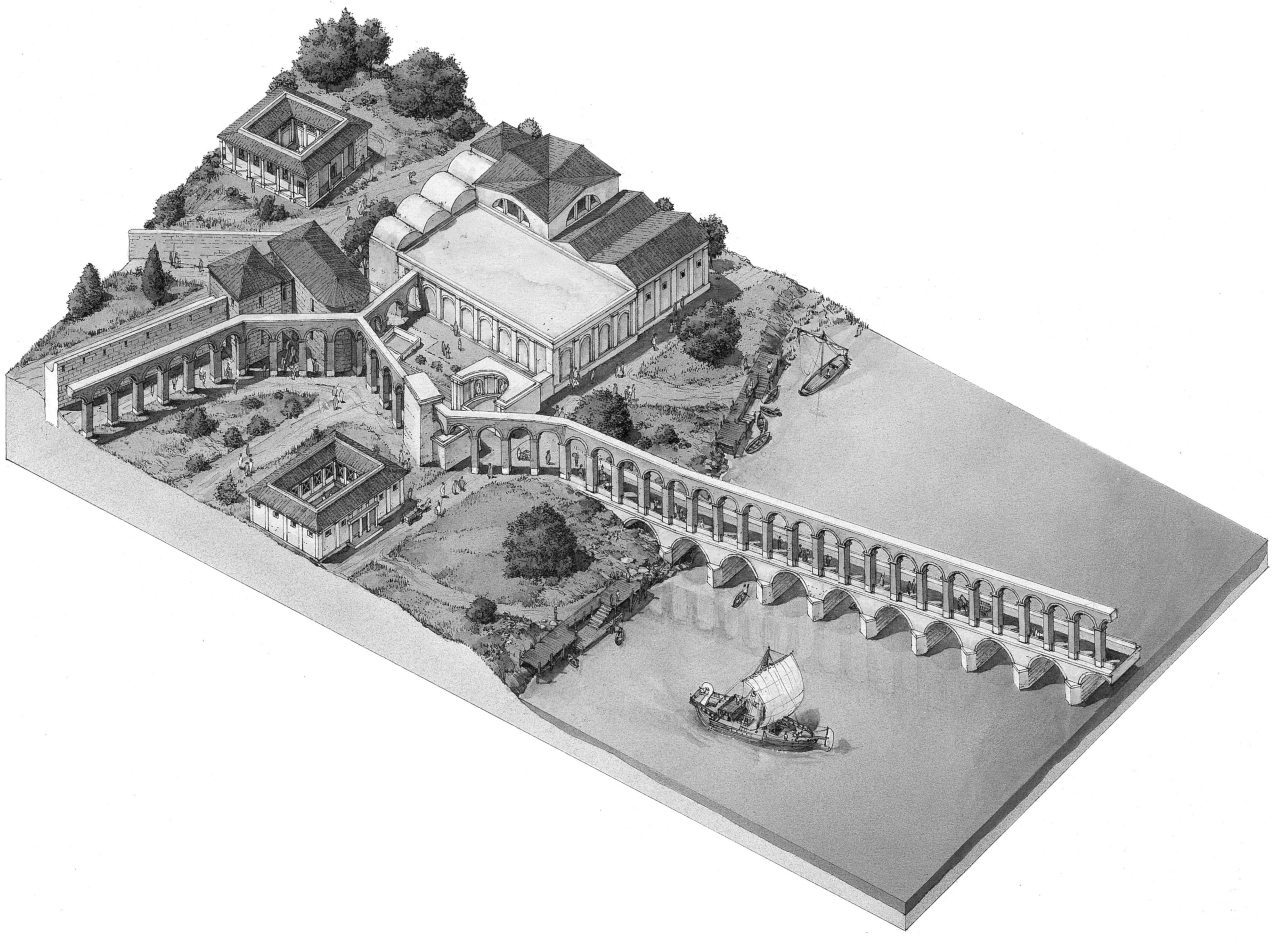

Fig. 11.12 Reconstruction of the Tower Gate at Butrint in the Roman period (BF, by Studio InkLink)

acquired aqueducts until the reign of Hadrian, but it is likely that at Butrint the primary phases of the aqueduct date to the 1st century AD or earlier.[50]

The aqueduct was clearly rebuilt or altered on at least two occasions, but it is probable that its earliest phases are associated with the Augustan colony (Fig. 11.13). Aqueducts, even relatively short ones like that of Butrint, were extremely costly to build and consequently many were state-sponsored initiatives.[51] They tended to be grand imperial gestures rather than essential public amenities, and as the Julio-Claudian epoch is the single moment of major imperial interest in Butrint, it is also the most likely period for the aqueduct's initial construction. Further support for this date is provided by Augustan coins of the colony, which depict a long arcade on the reverse that is thought to represent the aqueduct bridge or the arcade that carried it across the Vrina Plain. Coins with a similar motif were also minted during the reign of Nero. Reinforcement between the piers of the arcade, executed in the type of *opus incertum/opus quasi-reticulatum* that has been dated at the Diaporit excavations to the second half of the 1st century AD, also provides an approximate *terminus ante quem* for the aqueduct.

In the monumental centre of Butrint, as well as the addition of the Forum discussed above, the sanctuary of Asclepius and its associated buildings underwent significant modifications, at least some of which occurred during the early years of the colony.[52] As well as the addition of the stage building mentioned above, the theatre was greatly enlarged during the Roman period, with the addition of further seating banks to the west and east, although, as noted above, the date of these additions is a matter of contention. The so-called *prytaneum* was also modified (the only "real" *opus reticulatum* from Butrint can be seen in this building) (Fig. 11.14), and was clearly a building of some significance – the inscription recording that Cn. Domitius Eros (Fig. 2.13), a freedman of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (father of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus), restored the *prytaneum* and other structures was intended to be read as one enters the building.[53] The sanctuary of Asclepius therefore became a focus of public and political life, which became intertwined with its function as a cult centre.

Like Nicopolis, Butrint has no sign of an amphitheatre, although there is some circumstantial evidence pointing to the existence of such a structure in the form of the 10th-century text of Bishop Arsenios of Corfu, who describes how St. Therinus was thrown to the beasts in a theatre at Butrint during the Decian persecution of AD 251. According to Arsenios, "no-one, man or woman, missed the spectacle, not the slaves, the craftsmen, the men small and great, boys who had left their teachers/masters and girls who escaped every restraint".[54] It seems unlikely that this event could have taken place in the existing theatre at Butrint, which has no facilities for animal spectacles, in that there is no barrier between orchestra and spectators, although it is possible that a

Fig. 11.13 Line of aqueduct piers at Butrint (BF)

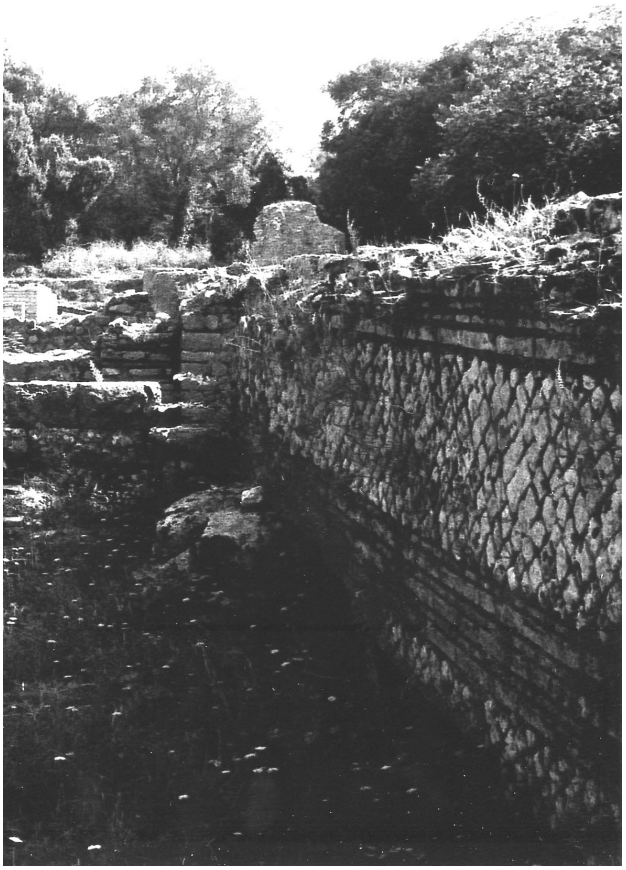

Fig. 11.14 Example of opus reticulatum *from the* prytaneum *at Butrint (BF)*

temporary wooden fence could have fulfilled this function. Other theatres in Greece such as the Theatre of Dionysus below the acropolis in Athens, and the theatres at Corinth and Dodona, which were converted to stage gladiatorial and animal spectacles, had stone parapets to separate audience and combatants.[55] It is possible that a wooden amphitheatre was built on the Vrina Plain (although geophysical survey has revealed no sign of such a structure), but it is also possible that Arsenios simply used a local setting for a rather standardised martyrdom story, for which there is no other supporting evidence.[56]

The walls

The Hellenistic wall circuit of Butrint originally circled the base of the acropolis, passing in front of the theatre. While the wall was probably removed to the east of the theatre area to make way for the Forum, elsewhere in the city there is evidence that it was maintained and augmented as a monumental feature of the city. To the east of the so-called gymnasium where the wall had been removed, its new terminal was marked with a tower constructed entirely of *spolia* (the so-called "Tower of Inscriptions" described above). The date of this tower is unknown (other than a *terminus post quem* of the mid 1st century BC provided by the inscriptions), but an early date is suggested by the careful construction and finishing of the tower with its use of carved corners similar to those used in the remainder of the Hellenistic circuit (Fig. 11.15).[57]

Further to the east, as described above, the Tower Gate was maintained throughout the Roman period, with a number of Roman buildings, including the aqueduct and a major fountain, built in a manner that respects it. Beyond the Tower Gate, on the north side of the city, the wall circuit was refurbished and reinforced at a number of points, using a masonry technique very similar to that used in the *scenae frons* of the theatre in which well-cut rectangular limestone blocks were outlined with scored lines in the mortar courses (Fig. 11.16).[58] The Lake Gate and the Lion Gate were also maintained in their monumental Hellenistic form, so that on the north side of the city, the external appearance of the town must have remained much the same, with the exception of the tombs that gradually filled the space immediately outside the wall.

Although it was no longer used for defence, the city wall at Butrint (or elements of it) apparently continued to serve a symbolic function, with parts of the wall and its gateways retained and maintained throughout the Roman period. Although the wall did not form a complete circuit (as may also have been the case at Nicopolis), it served both to define sections of the urban area (notably on the north side of the city where one of the principal cemetery areas was positioned) and also perhaps to demonstrate the relationship between the Roman town and that which had preceded it. The careful preservation and monumentalising of the wall circuit (notably the section between the "Tower of Inscriptions" and the Tower Gate) was juxtaposed with its removal in the theatre area, emphasising the shared heritage of the Hellenistic and Roman city while subtly underling the dominance of the latter, in a way that characterises the complex relationship between Rome and its Epirote territories.

The landscape

There is a certain amount of evidence to suggest that, like Nicopolis and Patras, the landscape around Butrint was subject to a programme of centuriation. Aerial photographs show a number of features that are on the same alignment as the aqueduct and the grid plan of the city on the Vrina Plain (see Figs. 7.6 and 8.4).[59] While this evidence is inconclusive, when viewed in conjunction with the evidence for centuriation from Nicopolis and Patras, it is probable that there was a system of cadastral land organisation around Butrint, and possibly also nearby in the vicinity of Phoenicê.[60]

The rather fragmentary evidence from the field survey carried out at Butrint between 1994 and 1996 suggests a situation not dissimilar to that noted by the Nicopolis survey, with a considerable number of sites occupied in

Fig. 11.15 The "Tower of Inscriptions" at Butrint (after Drini and Budina 1981)

both the Roman and late Roman periods.[61] Although the survey data lacks any fine chronology, it does suggest that the early Roman landscape around Butrint was not sparsely occupied in the way that has been noted in surveys in areas of Greece (see above). As at Nicopolis, it cannot be said on the basis of the survey data whether or not any of these sites can be plausibly associated with the period of the colony's foundation. However, the evidence from the excavations at the villa site of Diaporit could suggest a situation analogous to that noted at Patras, where a major increase in site numbers in the countryside can be dated to later in the 1st century AD.

The site at Diaporit (Fig. 11.17) was a luxurious waterfront residence rather than a productive rural site, but its archaeological sequence provides one example of a site history outside Butrint itself. It also gives some indication of the caution with which survey data should be treated, as the sequence revealed by large-scale excavation was considerably different to that which was suggested by surface survey and cleaning of surface remains.[62] The material retrieved from an initial examination of the site in 1994 indicated occupation from the late Republican period until the 6th century, with a subsequent phase of activity in the later medieval period. Excavations, however, proved that the archaeological sequence commenced much earlier, during the late 3rd century BC. Evidence of Republican occupation was limited, with the earliest significant occupation horizons of Roman date pertaining to the later Augustan or Tiberian period. The major phases of construction at Diaporit commenced around AD 40–80, after which the complex then underwent almost continual alteration and addition until it was abandoned as a prestige dwelling around the start of the 3rd century AD.

The construction activity of AD 40–80 at Diaporit is broadly contiguous with the expansion of Butrint itself onto the Vrina Plain (detailed elsewhere into this volume). It is notable that the orientation of the Diaporit

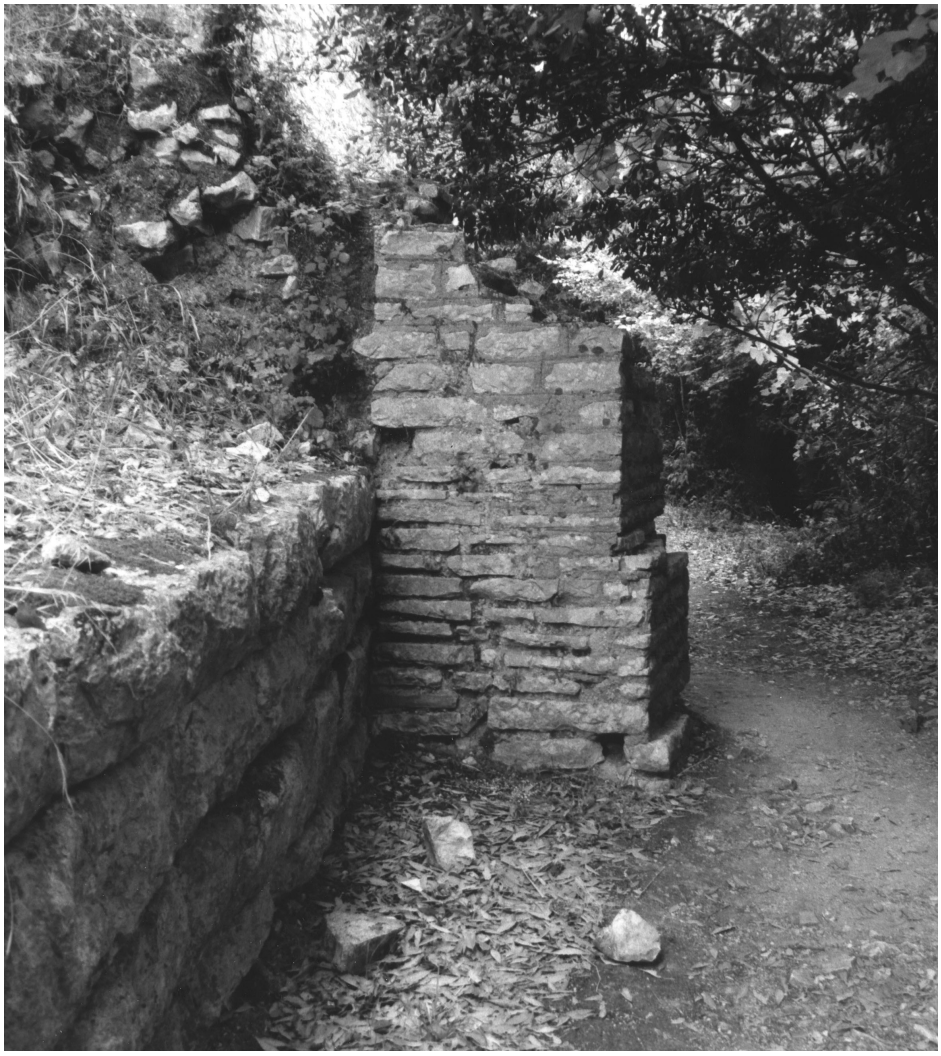

Fig. 11.16 Buttress from the Butrint wall circuit (BF)

villa was completely altered in this phase so that the buildings faced directly towards Butrint, perhaps reflecting the increasing significance of the town in the eyes of their owner. It is tempting to see a parallel between this increase in activity during the second half of the 1st century, and the similar increase that has been noted in the region of Patras (described above). The evidence from Diaporit, the Vrina Plain and Patras suggests that we should be wary of ascribing increased activity wholly to the establishment of the colonies. It will be interesting therefore to see the final results of the Nicopolis survey, to examine whether this picture of later 1st-century expansion can also be detected around Nicopolis itself.

Conclusion

Does the archaeological evidence from Butrint and Nicopolis speak of "Romanization", the creation of an urban and rural *habitus* intended to encourage *romanitas*? When the question is phrased this bluntly, the answer has to be a qualified "no", in that it is doubtful that this was a primary purpose behind activities at either site. However, both cases demonstrate the unique blend of ideology and pragmatism that may perhaps be considered the hallmark of the Roman Empire and indeed one of the reasons for its enduring success. Indeed, in this sense Nicopolis may perhaps represent a Roman urban ideal and truly be the Roman city *par excellence*, in that its deliberate ambiguities meant that it could be all things to all men. It could be both wholly Greek and wholly Roman, a *colonia*, a *civitas libera* and the product of an act of synoecism drawn straight from the manual of Hellenistic kingship. Its principal sanctuary lay outside the town in the Greek custom but was directly linked to the forum (the political heart of the town) by the *cardo maximus*, the road that also symbolically linked it to the remainder of the empire and to Rome itself. The Actian Games, meanwhile, were moved to the new sanctuary to reinforce

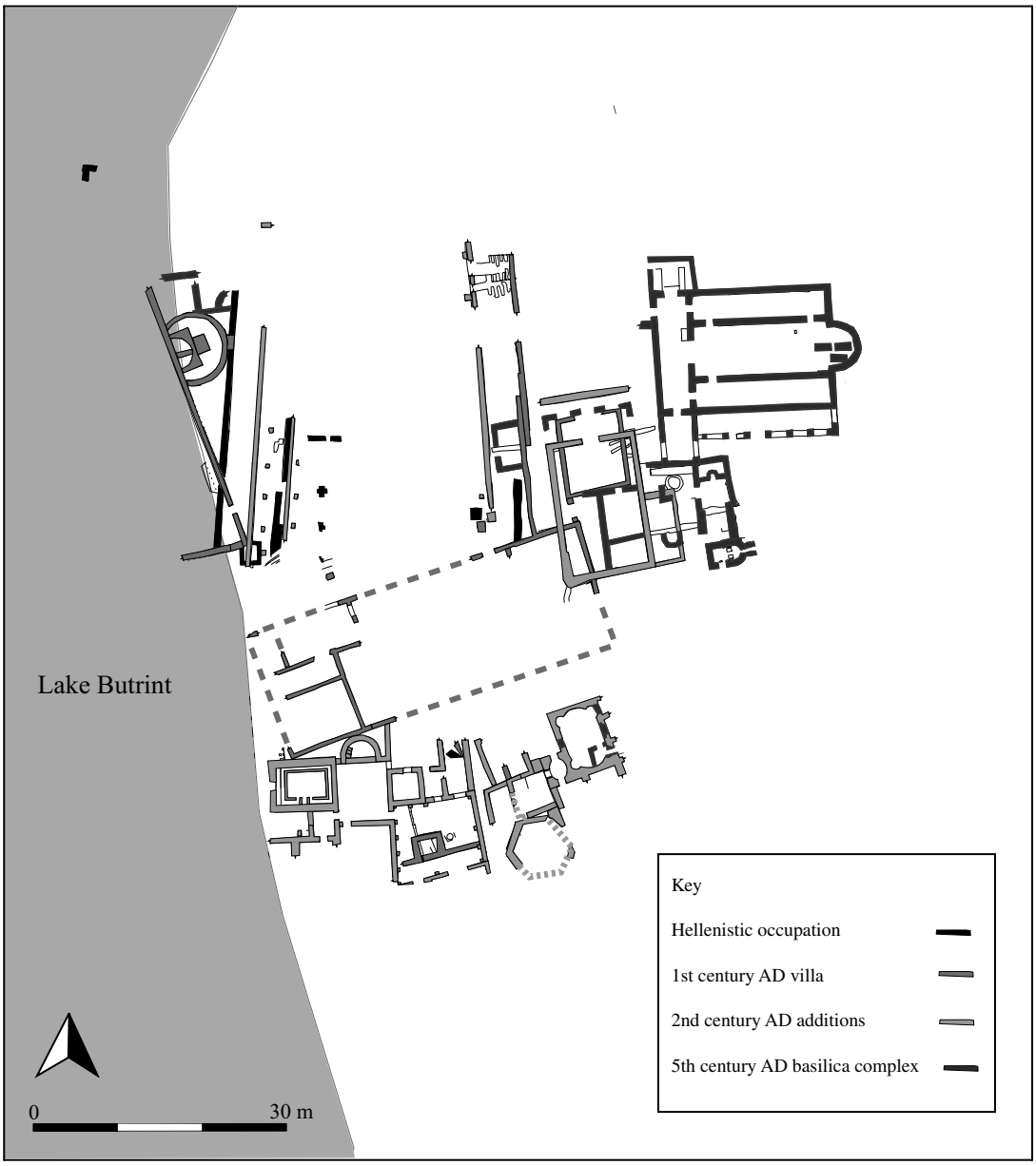

Fig. 11.17 Plan of Diaporit (BF)

the link between Apollo and Augustus's victory, while other cults were also transferred to the city, a practice that also occurred at Patras.

At Butrint, it is possible that similar messages can be seen in the built environment. The role of the sanctuary of Asclepius was expanded to include political functions, the city wall was partially removed to make way for the political spaces associated with the Roman town, and the town was provided with an expensive and monumental water supply of which the principal bridge carried a road that connected the town to the Roman road network and ultimately therefore to Rome itself. At the same time the boundaries of the Hellenistic city were partially maintained as were many of its principal gateways, while the retention of buildings from the earlier city articulated the relationship between its inhabitants and the town's past.

Despite the fact that more of its public areas have been excavated than is the case at Nicopolis, Butrint remains a difficult site to interpret, in that one must take account not only of what was built, but also what was demolished and what was retained. Perhaps even more importantly, at Butrint we have little indication as to which, if any, of the changes really relate specifically to the founding of the colony. While the identity and ideology of the Roman town is one that is closely tied to the built environment, the colony is ultimately a political institution, and it is possible that the development of the urban landscape was far more piecemeal than was the case at Nicopolis.

Finally we should note that the key to understanding transformations in the built environment of the towns of Roman Epirus lies in stratigraphic archaeology. It is only through a thorough knowledge of the chronology of the buildings of the Roman town that we can hope to interpret what they meant to the people who constructed and experienced them. The Vrina Plain excavations offer a cautionary tale in that while on its discovery it seemed reasonable to associate the creation of this new section of the town with the colony and its Julio-Claudian patrons, careful excavation has shown an entirely different picture. Ultimately we must aim to date changes in urban topography in terms of decades rather than centuries, as only then can we hope to develop a more rounded understanding of aims and ideologies expressed through the medium of the built environment.

Notes

1 See, for example, Barrett 1997; Keay and Terrenato 2001; Mattingly 1997 and 2002; Webster and Cooper 1996.
2 An equation questioned by Laurence 1998: 2.
3 See, for example, papers in Mattingly 1997
4 See Alcock 2002 on Greece; On Albania see Bowden 2003, in particular chapter 2.
5 Cf. Pausanias's oft-quoted ridiculing of the city of Panopeus in Phokis: "if you can call it a city when it has no state buildings, no training ground, no theatre, and no market square, when it has no running water at a water head and they live on the edge of a torrent in hovels like mountain huts." (Pausanias 10.4.1).
6 Fentress 2000: 12.
7 For references to this debate see Purcell 1987. The essential "Greekness" of Nicopolis is now accepted to the point that study of the Roman city can be safely reconciled with the Hellenic nationalism that underpins much of archaeology in Greece.
8 On contemporary attitudes towards Actium, see Gurval 1995. See also Zanker 1987: 88–96 and Mayer forthcoming.
9 Mattingly 2002: 538. On Nicopolis as a Roman urban ideal see also Bowden forthcoming.
10 Zachos 2003.
11 The road system of Nicopolis remains the subject of some debate, most recently at the *Second International Symposium on Nicopolis* held in Preveza in 2002.
12 Stein 2001: 66–68; Wiseman 2001: 49–50.
13 Zanker 2000: 33–35 (citing also Hölscher 1998).
14 Strabo 7.7.6 (Loeb 1924, Translated by H.L. Jones).
15 The northern cemetery has recently the subject of considerable work by the 12th Ephoreia.
16 A line of dots appears on Philadelpheus's plan of the site, slightly to the north of the so-called Proasteion Baths (*Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias* 1926: 128), which follow the probable line of the *cardo*. Pierrepont-White, who incorporated the data in her plan of the site (Pierrepont-White 1986–7: tav. 25) has suggested that these may be columns. The plan published by Zachos (2003) shows a reduced number of these in a slightly different position.
17 Zanker 2000: 33.
18 Pausanias 7.18.8 (Loeb 1954, Translated by W.H.S. Jones). On the transferral of cults of Apollo to Nicopolis, see Tzouvara-Souli 2001. For Patras and the transferral of the cult of Laphrian Artemis, see Houby-Nielsen 2001.
19 On the dating of the wall, see Angeli forthcoming.
20 For artistic depictions of walls in the Roman period, see La Rocca 2000.
21 See in general Bergemann 1998 and Baccin and Ziino 1940.
22 See Papadopoulou and Konstantaki forthcoming for the use of *spolia* in Basilica B.
23 Bergemann 1998: 100 (citing Hoepfner in *Nicopolis* I: 133 (455 fig 12)).
24 Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994: 205. See also Sear 2003: 191.
25 Bergemann 1998: 98–100.
26 The structures built in this technique at Diaporit are sealed by deposits dated to AD 100–150, but replace buildings dating to AD 40–80 (Bowden and Përzhita 2004: 421).
27 Other suggested designations for the Central Baths include "Governor's Palace" (Kirsten and Kraiker 1967 vol. II: 753) or "Bouleuterion" (Schoder 1974: 156 (cit. Pierrepont-White 1986–7: 20).
28 Doukellis, Dufaure, and Fouache 1995.
29 For the Patras aqueduct, see Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994: 205.
30 Zanker 2000: 39.
31 On Patras, see Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994: 205 and Petropoulos forthcoming. For the Corinth amphitheatre, see Welch 1999 and Romano 2003: 285.
32 Purcell 1987.
33 Strabo 17.1.10 (cit. Purcell 1987: 76–77).
34 Welch 1999.
35 Welch 1999: 138.
36 Doukellis 1988; 1990.
37 Rizakis 1990; 1997; Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994.
38 Rizakis 1997: 19–20; ibid, 29 with references for the presence of drainage ditches around Dyme and Arta. For Caesarean centuriation (and also a Flavian system of centuriation) at Corinth see Romano 2003.
39 Purcell 1990 on centuriation, and Purcell 1987: 85.
40 For Roman sites found by the Nicopolis survey, see Stein 2001 and Wiseman 2001. For the Patras survey, see Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994.
41 Wiseman 2001: 56–7.
42 Other survey data from Greece is summarised in Alcock 1993.
43 Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994: 192.
44 Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002; Martin 2004. Also Crowson and Gilkes in this volume.
45 On the Tripartite building, see Çondi 1990. For the Forum, first proposed by Martin 2004 and Ugolini 1942: 46, now confirmed by Hernandez and Çondi forthcoming.
46 For the dedication to Minerva, see the contribution by Patterson in this volume.
47 Cabanes and Drini 1994; Drini and Budina 1981; Martin 2004.
48 Sear (2003: 183) is of the opinion that the additions are most likely to be associated with the colony, while Papadopoulos (1996) has suggested that the stage dates to the 2nd century.
49 Wilkes 2003: 158.
50 An arcaded structure, normally interpreted as the aqueduct,

is depicted on the Butrint coinage from the time of Augustus, see Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992: 277, nos. 1381, 1388; Ugolini 1937: 88.

51 Although the headwater of the Butrint aqueduct has not yet been identified, it is probably in the region of Mursia, to the southeast of Butrint, making the aqueduct some 12 km long.

52 See also Melfi in this volume.

53 His work is recorded in an unpublished inscription in the paving of the refurbished area (Deniaux 1999). In this volume, see also Deniaux note 18 for a transcription, and Fig. 2.13 for a (partial) illustration, of this inscription.

54 Ugolini 1937: 92.

55 On Athens and Corinth see Welch 1999. For Dodona see Dakaris 1998: 2.17.

56 Ugolini's association of Arsenios's St. Therinus with the St. Therinus depicted on the mosaic of the rotunda of St. George in Thessalonica is incorrect (Ugolini 1937: 92–93). The St. Therinus associated with St. George was one of the farmers who converted at the time of George's martyrdom under Diocletian in AD 303, and consequently cannot be the same Therinus martyred at Butrint under Decius more than 50 years earlier.

57 The tower was unfortunately demolished to extract the inscriptions before an adequate record was made of it. See Cabanes and Drini 1994; Drini and Budina 1981.

58 Andrews, Bowden, Gilkes and Martin 2004.

59 See Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002: 219–20; Martin 2004 and Bescoby in this volume.

60 For centuriation around Phoenicê and in the Drinos valley, see Giorgio 2002 and 2003. As with the evidence for centuriation from Butrint (and elsewhere), Giorgio's evidence is rather circumstantial, but his hypothesis is valid.

61 Pluciennik *et al*. 2004: 54–56.

62 For a full description of the recent excavations at Diaporit, see Bowden and Përzhita 2004.

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Index

Achaea 7, 10, 13 (n. 36), 14 (n. 70), 55–56, 59 (n. 95), 169, 185, 189, 190
Achilles 45–46, 48, 56 (n. 13)
Actium (see also Nicopolis) 1, 5, 7, 8, 14 (n. 68), 35, 37, 44–45, 47–48, 50–51, 58 (n. 61), 63, 74, 121
Actus grid 8–9, 95, 112–113, 116 (and n. 20), 117 (n. 23), 121, 123–125, 128, 135–136, 138, 144, 146, 151, 156, 198
  Alignments 1 & 2 6–9, 123, 125, 128, 140, 146, 151
Adriatic Sea 1, 7, 42, 45
Aegean Sea 1, 34–35, 173 (n. 11)
Aemilius Paulus, L. 170
Aeneas 7, 24, 44–48, 52, 55–56 (and n. 3, 14), 57 (n. 25, 36–37, 41), 58 (n. 42), 79, 83, 177
Aeneid (see Virgil)
Agrippa, Marcus Vipsanius (see also portraits) 10, 14 (n. 68, 72), 27, 35, 37, 50–54, 56, 58 (n. 61, 63), 74
Agrippina the Elder/the Younger 14 (n. 68), 53–54
Alexander the Great 56 (n. 13), 190
Alipheira 24
Amantia 168
Ambracia 45, 47, 79, 83, 168, 193, 198
Amphitheatre 9, 196, 198, 202–203
Anactorium 168
Anastasius 79, 82, 90
Anchises 45–46, 56
Andriaca 50–51
Andromache 2, 45–46, 56 (n. 13, 14), 33
Antigonea 175, 181
Antinous 28
Antioch 81, 87, 170
Antium 9, 37 (n. 3)
Apollo 9, 41, 44, 48, 51, 63, 82–83, 85, 166, 168–170, 172 (n. 10), 193, 206, 207 (n. 18)
Apollonia 75, 79, 81–84, 158,168–169
Ara Pacis Augustae 50, 71
Arcadia 24
Aristomachos 22, 29 (n. 22)
Arles 9
Arsenios, Bishop of Corfu 202–203
Artemis 83, 169, 193
Asclepius (see also, Butrint, sanctuary of Asclepius) 7, 18–19, 21–22, 26, 47, 55, 75 (n. 3), 79, 83
Asia Minor 7, 45, 56, 57 (n. 16), 128
Athena 83, 170
Athens 7, 24, 26, 28, 49, 55, 158
Atticus, Titus Pomponius (see Pomponii)
Augustus/Octavian (see also, portraits) 7, 9, 10, 28, 34–35, 37, 47–48, 50–54, 56, 63, 71, 74–75, 79–81, 83–85, 121, 123, 125, 169–170, 177
Aulon 7, 113, 201
Avignon 125

Balagrae 26
Balbus, Q. Antonius 79, 83
Beirut 81–82, 130
Bistrice, river 119, 183
Britannicus 54
Brundisium (Brindisi) 7, 34–35
Budina, Dhimosten 5, 64, 149
Building techniques
  Ashlar construction 12, 23–24, 127, 131, 151, 165
  Limestone blocks 26, 114, 139, 142, 145–146, 154, 203
  Marble veneer 10, 122, 127
  Opus caementicium 172
  Opus incertum 145–146, 184–185, 196, 200, 202
  Opus (quasi)reticulatum 202–203
  Opus signinum 114, 139
  Tiles 114, 127, 135, 139, 141, 143–149, 151–157, 159–160
Butrint
  Aqueduct 7–8, 47, 53, 55–56, 96, 112–113, 121–126, 128, 136, 138, 149, 151, 154–156, 159–160, 161 (n. 23), 171, 183, 196, 200–203, 208 (n. 51)
  Baptistery 116 (n. 16), 185
  Castellan's palace 63
  Coins – Butrint issues 6, 8, 27, 44–45, 47–48, 50–53, 55, 78–80, 83–84, 123, 183, 202
  Forum 1, 7–9, 11–12, 40, 62, 64–66, 74, 180, 184, 195, 200–203
  Fountain/nymphaeum/well 9–10, 23, 26, 63, 66, 140, 169, 184, 203
  Great Basilica 116 (n. 16), 201
  'Gymnasium' 7–8, 10, 184, 200, 203
  Merchant's House 12

Butrint *continued*
Peristyle building 24, 26, 66
Prytaneum 6, 11, 27–28, 64, 66, 202
Shrine of Minerva 6, 10, 40–41, 66, 180, 184, 200
Stoa/portico 6, 22–24, 26
'Tower of Inscriptions' 200, 203, 208 (n. 57), 175
Triangular castle 119
Triconch Palace 1, 5, 10, 12, 81, 136, 141, 160, 185
Tripartite building 8, 40, 65–66, 180, 184, 200
Butrint, baths 9, 122–123, 136, 196, 201
Bath-house 1 121–126, 135, 140, 144–147, 160
Bath-house 2 (& outlying villa) 12, 96, 114, 125, 138–139, 157, 159
Bath-house 3 142–143, 160
Bath-house 4 123, 145–148, 161
Bath-house, near the theatre 10, 26, 28, 184
Bath-house, near Tower Gate 10
Butrint, sanctuary of Asclepius 1, 6, 17, 23–28, 47, 180–181, 195, 200, 202, 206
Abaton 23–24, 29 (n. 32)
Priests of Asclepius 6, 23, 26, 29 (n. 27, 30), 30 (n. 53), 180
'Shrine'/treasury 17, 20–22, 53, 181, 184
Temple 6–7, 24–26, 35, 113, 161 (n. 38), 180–181, 184
Thesauros 20, 26
Butrint, Theatre 6, 10–12, 20, 22–24, 26–28, 62–63, 66, 180–181, 201–203
cavea 17, 22–24, 26
parodos 20, 22
scaenae frons 11, 14 (n. 76), 27–28, 63, 151, 180, 184, 201, 203
Butrint, Tombs and cemeteries 8, 113–114, 121–122, 125, 137, 139, 148–149, 153, 155–156, 158–159, 171
Cremation tomb 125, 149–150, 159
Infant graves 153, 155–156
Inhumation tomb 139, 149, 151–156, 159–160
Kalivo tomb 139, 151, 154–155
Republican tomb 7, 13 (n. 41)
Butrint, Vrina Plain suburb 1, 5, 7–12, 119–164, 183, 204–205
Apsidal hall 11–12, 123, 125, 128, 140–142, 148, 161
Basilica 123, 128, 136, 141, 161
Building 1 (see, Bath-house 2)
Building 2 11, 113–116, 136, 140
Building 3 113–114
Building 4 113, 115
Building 5 (see, Bath-house 3)
Building 6 (see, Monuments 1 & 2 / Buttressed building)
Building 7 113
Building 8 (see, Second-century buildings)
Buttressed building 114, 125, 135–136
Monuments 1 and 2 9, 113–114, 121–122, 125–126, 131–136, 139, 151, 165–174
Peristyle house (see building 2)
Second-century buildings 113, 136–137, 153, 156
Temple 8–9, 63, 121, 123, 125–128, 161 (n. 36), 170
Butrint, City walls 6–8, 11–12, 26, 180–181, 200–201, 203, 206
Lake Gate (Scaean Gate) 13 (n. 39), 180, 203
Lion Gate 10, 63, 153–154, 158, 180, 203
Tower Gate 7–10, 201, 203
Byllis 30 (n. 72), 190

Caesar, Julius 1, 6–7, 12, 33–35, 46, 74, 121, 172, 175, 177
Calydon 168
Campania 158, 169
Carthage 81–82, 90
Cassiope 55
Centuriation 1, 6, 8, 10, 112, 125, 126, 198, 203
Ceos 50
Ceramics (see pottery)
Cestrinus 45
Chaonia 6, 46, 175, 177, 189
Cheronea 23
Cicero 6, 34, 46, 79, 175, 177
Claudia Marcella 51
Claudius 53–54, 56, 80, 84–85, 170
Client/*Clientela* (see also, patron) 14 (n. 72), 27, 50, 54, 74, 182
Cocciopesto floor 114, 127, 136, 141, 152
Collegium 9, 141
Column, honorific 7–9, 113, 170–172
Column of Trajan 171
Column of Xenvares 171, 173 (n. 37)
Commodus 75, 186
Constantine 88
Constantinople 82, 89–90
Corcyra (Corfu) 1–2, 5–7, 10, 12, 26, 33–34, 37 (n. 3), 45–46, 55, 79, 83, 168, 171–172, 177, 202
Cordoba 7
Corinth 6, 10, 12, 13 (n. 33), 20–21, 24, 27, 41, 48–49, 52, 55, 112, 125, 154, 168–169, 171, 190, 196, 198, 201, 203
Cornelius, L. 6, 47, 79, 83
Cos 28
Crete 26
Çuka e Aitoit 6, 56 (n. 11), 113, 121, 158
Cyprus 50
Cyzicus 46, 50, 87–89

Dastidius, P. 6, 36, 47, 79, 83
Decurion 6, 10, 34
Deir Ain Abate 81
Delos 21, 24, 42, 50
Delphi 21, 170
Demolition (debris) 8, 11, 122, 126, 136, 139, 141, 143, 146–147, 159–160, 200
Diaporit 1, 5, 10–12, 67, 78–82, 122, 142, 147, 161, 196, 200, 202, 204–205
Dichin 81–82
Diocletian 36, 208 (n. 56)
Dionysius of Halicarnassus 46
Dionysus 9, 24, 26, 28, 59 (n. 69), 63, 169, 203
Dodona 24, 45–46, 48, 55, 181, 203
Domitian 80, 85, 196
Domitii 1, 34–35, 55, 75
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus 30 (n. 67), 34–35, 202
Cn. Domitius Eros 10–11, 27, 35, 202
L. Domitius Ahenobarbus 10, 27, 34, 54, 74, 183, 202
Drinos valley 158, 175, 208 (n. 60)
Duovir 10, 27, 35–36, 47
Durrell, Gerald 119
Dyme 10, 190, 198, 207 (n. 38)
Dyrrhachium (Durrës) 79, 82, 158

Earthquakes 11–12, 76 (n. 29), 117 (n. 34), 115

Egypt 82
Elagabalus 81, 84
Eleusis 28, 50
Environmental study 2, 5, 95, 121, 143, 151
Ephesus 50
Epidaurus 28
Epirus 5, 7, 34, 42, 44–48, 53, 55–56, 79, 82, 95, 115, 127–128, 177, 181, 184–185, 189–190, 207
Euboia 159

Falerii Novi *96*
Freedmen 6, 10, 13 (n. 33), 35–37, 42
Fuscus, L. Ateius 50

Galba 172
Gaul 12, 36
Geoarchaeological investigation 95–116
Geophysical investigation/survey 5, 7, 9, 95–96, 112–116, 121, 123, 125–126, 136, 138, 140, 143, 149, 151, 200, 203
Germanicus 27, 35, 52–53, 76 (n. 41), 183
Gonnoi 23
Gortys 24
Graecinus (see Pomponii)
Granius, Aulus 11, 34
Greece 7, 21, 23, 26–28, 55–56, 63, 74, 128, 167–170, 189–190, 196, 199, 201, 203

Hadrian 28, 64, 79, 84–85, 169–170, 185, 196, 202
Hadzis, Katerina 119
Hecateus of Miletus 175
Hector 45, 56
Helenus 2, 7, 44–48, 53, 55–56
Hoxha, Enver 89

Iatrus 82
Illyria 45
Inscriptions 6, 14 (n. 76), 18, 20, 28, 36, 52, 176, 180
  Dedicatory 10–11, 19, 22, 26, 28, 29 (n. 27), 34–36, 37 (n. 13, 14), 41
  Floor 27, 35, 38 (n. 18), 128, 202
  Funerary 59 (n. 62), 156–158
  Minerva Augusta 6, 8, 10, 40–42, 65–66, 180, 184, 200
  Manumissions 22–23, 25, 27, 29 (n. 21), 175, 177, 182, 200–201
Insulae 5, 112–113, 115, 123, 125
Ionian Islands/Sea 7, 33–35, 45, 56, 74, 119, 190

Julia Domna 81, 84
Julia, daughter of Augustus 50–51, 53
Justinian I 12, 82, 123

Kalivo 119, 121–122, 149, 158
Koinon of the Praesebes 1, 6–7, 26, 34, 175
Korafi Hills 119, 121

Lake Bufi 96, 116
Lake Butrint 5–6, 8, 10–11, 45, 96, 116, 119, 122, 142, 148, 150, 159, 161, 172, 185
Lake Maliq 119
Lares 11, 34
Larissa 79
Lear, Edward 119
Lebena 20, 26, 28, 30 (n. 73)
Leucas 45, 158, 168, 193
Leo 82, 89, 90
Lissos (Lezha) 26

Macedonia 33, 45, 56, 158, 170, 185
Marcus Antonius (Mark Anthony) 7, 14, 33–35, 198
Marcus Aurelius 63, 75, 86–87, 128
Maurice Tiberius 82
Megara 158
Melos 20
Mercatores 27, 82
Mercury 41
Mérida 7, 9, 73
Messene 26, 28
Milesius 10, 27
Molossians 45–46, 48
Mount Likurs 6
Mount Sotirës 113, 119, 121, 148–149, 153, 158
Mycenae 2

Nero 7–8, 28, 44, 53–56, 79, 84, 123, 169, 198, 202
Nicopolis 1, 5, 7–10, 12, 44, 48, 50–52, 55–56, 63, 71, 74, 79, 84, 113, 125, 167, 169, 172, 189–206
  Actian monument/Actium *tropaeum* 44, 48, 71, 74, 167, 190, 193
  Other monuments 190–199
Nicopolis ad Istrum 81
Niger, A. Hirtuleius 57 (n. 37), 79, 83
Nymphs 10, 26

Octavia 54, 58 (n. 56, 57)
Olympia 28
Onchesmos (Saranda) 5, 6, 8, 45, 48, 50 (n. 11), 175
Orange 125
Orchomenos 23
Oricum 168
Ostia 9, 64, 158
Otacilii 10, 35, 41–42, 86
  Manius Otacilius Mystes 40–42, 66
Otranto 33
Ovid 177

Palatine hill, Rome 57 (n. 32), 169
Pantheon, Rome 50–51
Patras 10, 37 (n. 14), 55, 63, 169, 190, 193, 195–196, 198–201, 203–206
Patron (see also, client) 10, 13 (n. 63), 27–28, 30 (n. 54), 34, 54, 56, 58 (n. 57), 59 (n. 62), 74, 183, 196, 207
Patronage/euergetism 7, 10–11, 22, 27–28, 34, 36–37, 44, 47, 50, 53–56, 74, 170, 182
Pausanias 45, 63, 193
Pavlass River/Valley 8
Pergamon 26, 28, 45, 79, 84, 180
Perseus 170
Philip II 79, 82
Philistos (ara di Filisto) 19–20, 22, 29 (n. 27)
Phoenicê 6–8, 11, 55, 116, 158, 172, 175–185, 203
Pisidia 170
Polybius 175, 177, 182
Pompeii 158–159, 180
Pompey the Great 1, 7, 33, 42

Pomponii and Caecilii 10, 13 (n. 66), 50 57 (n. 35), 59 (n. 62), 183
Atticus, Titus Pomponius 1, 6, 10, 27, 34–37, 46, 50, 58 (n. 64), 63, 74, 79
Caecilia Attica 50–51
Caecilius, Q. 35–37
Pomponius Graecinus, P. 10, 27, 48, 57 (n. 35), 58 (n. 64), 79, 83
Pomponius, T. 38 (n. 22), 57 (n. 35)
Portraits, imperial 5, 11, 27–28, 44, 47–52, 56, 62, 74
Agrippa 11, 35, 48, 50–51, 62
Augustus 11, 47–48, 50, 62, 79, 83–84
Bearded male 63, 128
Bust of young man 11, 28, 64
Claudian women 53–54, 62
Livia 11, 48, 50–51, 62, 75 (n. 3)
Poseidonia 170
Pottery 18, 121–123, 131, 135–136, 138–140, 143, 147, 151, 153–155, 159–160, 165, 172 (n. 2)
Amphora 68, 148
Corinthian 1, 175
Praefectus 35–36
Priam 45
Procopius 176, 185
Pullienus, M. 50
Pydna 170
Pyrrhus Neoptolemus 45, 48, 56 (n. 13)
Pyrrhus of Epirus 46, 48, 57 (n. 20), 79, 82, 181

Reliefs 1, 8, 50, 52, 65–66, 71, 73, 127, 130–131, 170
Lion Gate 63
Nike/Victory 52, 63
Sarcophagus 63, 128–131
Rhodes 158
Rhône valley 9, 125
Rome 1–2, 5–12, 28, 33–34, 36, 44–47, 49–51, 56, 64, 74, 81–82, 84–90, 128, 130, 158, 169, 171–172, 189–190, 193, 203, 205–206
Rrogozhina 158

Sadovec 82
Sea-level rise 5–6, 78, 95–96, 115–116, 121, 165
Seneca 169
Shën Dimitri 113, 148
Shën Dimitri Hoard 75, 78, 84–85, 88
Sicily 35, 138
Sicyon 5
Siscia 81–82, 87
Sosicles 62
Spahiu, Hëna 149
Sparta 55
Spolia/Spoliation 12, 40, 64, 66–67, 128, 147, 165, 172
Stabiae 9
Stata Mater 11, 34, 37 (n. 14)
Statuary 5, 10–12, 19–20, 27, 40, 48, 62, 135, 165
Apollo and Dionysus 9, 63, 169
Cuirassed figures 48, 62
Draped female figures 53, 62
Large Herculaneum type 51, 62
Nemesis of Rhamnus type/Antium Apollo 9, 14 (n. 81), 63, 169
Togate figures 5, 8, 11–12, 48, 62, 64–74
Stephanus Byzantinus 46
Strabo 5, 8, 193, 198
Strabo, C. Julius 35
Strabo, Cn. Pompeius 42
Straits of Corfu 2, 5–7, 12
Suetonius 7, 172
Sura 47–48
Sura, Q. Naevius 48, 79, 83
Syracuse 46

Tenos 28
Teucros of Cyzicus 46
Thasos 28, 158
Themisonium 79, 81, 84
Therinus, St. 202
Thermos 168
Thespiae 23, 50
Thesprotians 45–46
Thessalonika 82, 88–89
Thessaly 46, 79, 158
Thyamis River 45
Tiberius 52–53, 170
Trajan 10, 55, 85, 170–171, 185
Trichonion 23
Triclinium 112–113, 115–116, 140–141
Troy (*Ilium*) 2, 7, 44–48, 51, 53, 56, 167
Turkey 167
Tyros 128

Ugolini, Luigi Maria 2, 5, 11–12, 17–21, 24, 27, 48, 53, 63, 66–67, 119, 149, 177, 181, 183, 185
Urso (*lex ursonensis*) 10, 34, 36

Valeria Messalina 54
Varro 45
Venus/Aphrodite 24, 85
Vergina 158
Vespasian 189
Vicus/vici 8, 11, 34, 36, 37 (n. 13, 14), 183
Villas and domestic buildings 5, 9–11, 24, 63, 67, 115–116, 121–122, 125, 136, 138, 140–141, 143, 159, 161, 196, 204–205
Vipsania Agrippina 52
Virgil 1, 7, 44–47, 56, 57 (n. 41), 58 (n. 42), 79, 177
Vitruvius 116
Vivari channel 5–10, 12, 45, 63, 95, 119, 121–123, 150, 155, 159, 175, 183, 201
Votive objects/deposits 18, 20, 22–23, 26, 135, 170–172
Vrina Plain 5–7, 12, 47, 53, 56, 63, 78, 80–81, 95, 112, 116, 165, 167, 170, 175, 183, 198, 200, 202–203, 207

Xarra 113, 121, 123

Zacythus 45
Zeno 82, 90
Zeus 24, 28, 47–48, 55, 75 (n. 3), 82–83, 180

Roman Butrint

An Assessment

Since 1994 Butrint (ancient *Buthrotum*) in southern Albania has been the focus of a major archaeological research project, supported by the Butrint Foundation. From its inception as a colony under Julius Caesar to its apogee in the Justinianic period, Butrint was first and foremost a Mediterranean port with a rich lagoonal hinterland. Smaller in scale than Nicopolis, it nonetheless took advantage of its Roman imperial connections to establish itself on the sea and land routes that joined Italy to the East. Although the colony took shape for the most part behind its Hellenistic walls, it assumed a new Roman identity, making effective use of all its resources, including the familial connections of local landlords, to lock its destiny into that of the Empire as a whole.

Roman Butrint presents a series of studies which show that, in every respect, the model of investment was carefully devised, and at least until the later 2nd century, followed a pattern of colonial development to be found, for example, at Corinth or indeed, further afield in southern Gaul. As such, until struck by some as yet undefined disaster in the 3rd century, Butrint became a secure and prosperous port on the Straits of Corfu, loyal to the aspirations of Rome. This volume provides an assessment of the Roman archaeology of Butrint, a compilation of studies and field reports that focus on the foundation and early history of the colony.

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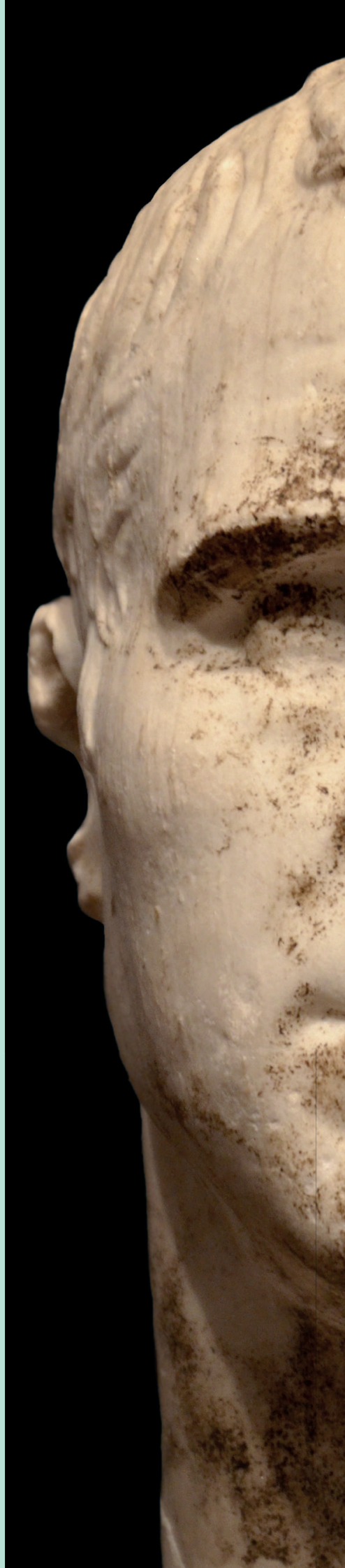

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